# HOBART'S EASTERN BEACHES: A STUDY OF LOW INCOME HOUSEHOLDS IN A SEMIURBAN AREA

by

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## DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other higher degree or graduate diploma in any tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in this thesis.

# ABSTRACT

The focus in this study is the position of low income households in the Eastern Beaches, a semiurban area east of Hobart, Tasmania. Influences upon the opportunity-constraint spectrum of low income households are considered in this study. Position in the labour market, ideology, state policy, the operation of the land and housing market and the established spatial configuration of the Greater Hobart area interrelate at a particular point in time within the global capitalist system; the result is the location of low income households in isolated and poorly serviced semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches.

The locational disadvantage of low income households in semiurban areas is raised in both urban research and public policy discussion. A common solution to locational disadvantage put forward in these contexts is urban consolidation. Part of the reason this study was undertaken was to investigate the degree to which understanding of the disadvantaged position of low income households in semiurban areas requires, not a consideration simply of location, but also of established structural relations and inequities in conjunction with causal processes. If public authorities are seriously committed to the principles of social justice and ecologically sustainable development fundamental social structures and processes need to be tackled.

The approach used in this study is a realist perspective of Marxian theory set within a broad political economy framework. A summary of a literature review and assessment of contemporary urban issues is followed by the situating of this study within the context of the global economy. This setting forms the basis for an investigation of trends in housing accessibility and affordability in and around Hobart, and for the interviewing of households in the Eastern Beaches to ascertain their nature and views of their position and of local environmental issues.

In this study, the location of low income households in semiurban areas was found to disadvantage further low income households, to strain already overstretched and under-resourced state services, and to contribute further to finite fossil fuel depletion and greenhouse gas emissions. The interaction of structure and agency in time and space was found to be important in the location of low income households in the

Eastern Beaches. The ideological predispositions of individual households combine with broad structural determinations at a particular time of global capital organisation and state policy and in relation to a particular spatial configuration and operational structure of the land and housing market, to produce a specific sociospatial outcome. Understanding of the interaction of structure and agency in time and space to produce particular sociospatial outcomes, as in the case of the Eastern Beaches, allows the disadvantaged position of certain social groups to be better addressed.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am unsure where to begin these acknowledgements. Many people have helped me in many different capacities during the course of this study. Writing an acknowledgement exemplifies a problem inherent in any narrative structure because it requires an ordered presentation of priorities which, as in this case, may not exist. Thus, I have to begin and end these acknowledgements somewhere but, to me, it does not really matter where. For instance, a reader may start at the last point in these acknowledgements and work their way back to the first, thereby altering the tenor but not the intention of these acknowledgements.

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# 1.0 INTRODUCTION

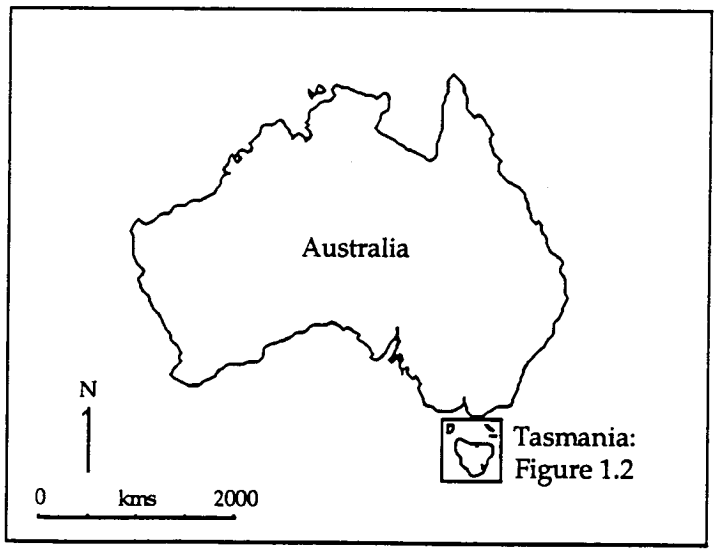
The aim in this study is to understand the present position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area. This is achieved by means of a case study of Hobart's Eastern Beaches, set within a political economy framework: how the capital–labour relation interacts with the land and housing market, the policies of the state, prevailing ideology and the strategies of individuals over time to result in the location of low income households in semiurban areas, as well as some of the impacts of the semiurban human environment upon the natural environment.

There are four goals in this study: first, to document the current position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area; secondly, to assess whether the position of low income households within the Greater Hobart housing market has changed between 1981 and 1990; and, thirdly, to assess some of the implications for the natural environment of the human environmental development of semiurban areas. (As outlined in Chapter 6, existing Australian Bureau of Statistic [ABS] statistical divisions do not capture the recent peripheral development of Hobart, thus rendering inappropriate the use of ABS terminology regarding Hobart's extent. Hence, 'Greater Hobart' is used in this study as a shorthand way of referring to Hobart's approximate actual extent quantified in Chapter 6.) The final goal is to understand the position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area today. This requires consideration of social structures, processes and relations over time, set within a political economy framework.

The term 'political economy' is used as a terminological, as well as being somewhat of a theoretical catch–all. Consideration of the interrelated nature and influence of ideology, property, the role of the state, uneven development and the sweep from local to global within the capitalist system needs to be accompanied by careful theoretical ascription. Each theoretical concept must be considered in theoretical context in order to understand the nature of its interaction with other theoretical concepts. Thus, the approach in this study is based upon a realist perspective of Marxian theory, with Chapter 2 being given over to the discussion of the specifics of Marxian theory and realism, set within a broad political economy framework.

Following World War II, housing was an integral part of the social contract in Australia, provided by the state within the developing capitalist system to assist the social reproduction of labour power for industrial capital as well as to foster the amenability and support of labour. ('Social contract' is taken to mean the position whereby the democratic state and its citizens enter into a type of hypothetical contract concerning, not only rules of law and civil rights, but the operation of an economic order oriented towards social justice [Bullock *et al.* 1988 pp175–176, 783]. It is the state's role in mediating between capital and labour within this economic order, through the social wage [welfare support], that is most relevant in this study. In this study the 'state' is differentiated in two ways. The 'state' is uncapitalised when used generically and capitalised when used specifically. For example, 'the role of the state' refers to the general role performed by the state in relation to capital and labour without reference to the state's separate spheres of operation, while 'State government' refers to one of the six States within the Commonwealth of Australia.) Publicly subsidised industrial and housing estates were developed side–by–side due to the importance of housing to the production process (Bradshaw 1989). As the industrial capital–labour relation became less important in Australia approaching 1970 and industrial employment for labour began to decline, State housing policy in Tasmania was freed from its locational tie to industry (Figure 1.1 shows the location of Tasmania in relation to Australia).

**Figure 1.1 The Location of Tasmania in Relation to Australia**



The injection of Federal funds from 1973/74 under the Whitlam Labour Government made possible the development of broad acre public housing estates for low income households which maximised economies of scale and took advantage of cheap land on the outskirts of Hobart (Figure 1.2 shows the location of Hobart in Tasmania). Reductions in the Federal contribution towards Commonwealth State Housing Agreement (CSHA) funding resulted in the abandoning of broad acre public housing development in the early 1980s. Over the same period, following the 1975 Henderson Inquiry into Poverty, public housing policy tended away from low income home purchase assistance towards welfare oriented housing assistance. Presently in Tasmania, approximately 4000 households which apply for public housing assistance are unable to be assisted per annum, while public housing funds are being attenuated by rent rebates. The public housing program within the Greater Hobart area is being limited to infill housing and a higher income oriented trial development at Huntingfield (Martin 1991) (Figure 1.3 shows the location of Huntingfield within the Greater Hobart area). Public housing development and industry are no longer linked in Hobart as public housing is no longer central to the supply and reproduction of labour for industry; public housing is no longer directly associated with the primary circuit of capital circulation. The state's role in housing provision has declined and housing provision for low income households has been taken over by the private land and housing market.

Housing is now the preserve of a well established private industry covering the entire range of the process of housing provision, from land development, through home building and the exchange of land and housing, to the supply of finance for home purchase. Housing provision has become primarily an end in itself, serving the profit oriented requirements of the housing industry. Admittedly, this aspect was present in post–World War II housing provision but, during this period, housing had also been a means by which the state could assist both capital and labour in production and, later, an integral part of the welfare state. With the decline in the importance of the industrial capital–labour relation and, following this, the state's effective withdrawal from low income home purchase housing provision (symptomatic of the decline in the welfare state), the provision and pricing of housing has largely been left to the private sector, especially since partial financial deregulation in 1986. The private market, however, unlike the state, possesses no mechanism to assist low income households to access housing. There is no onus of responsibility and no room for subsidy in the

**Figure 1.2 Location of Hobart and the Study Area of the Eastern Beaches within Tasmania**

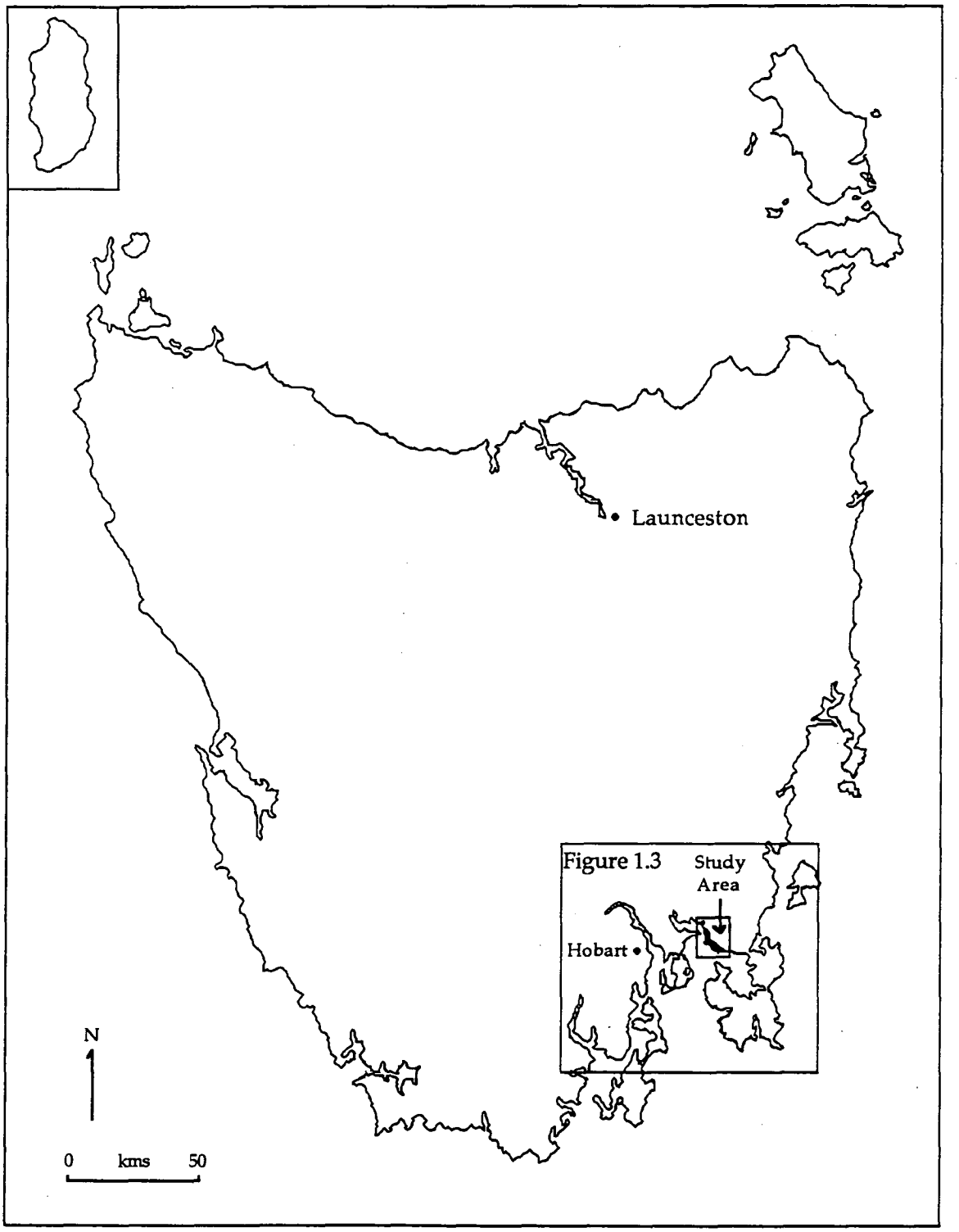
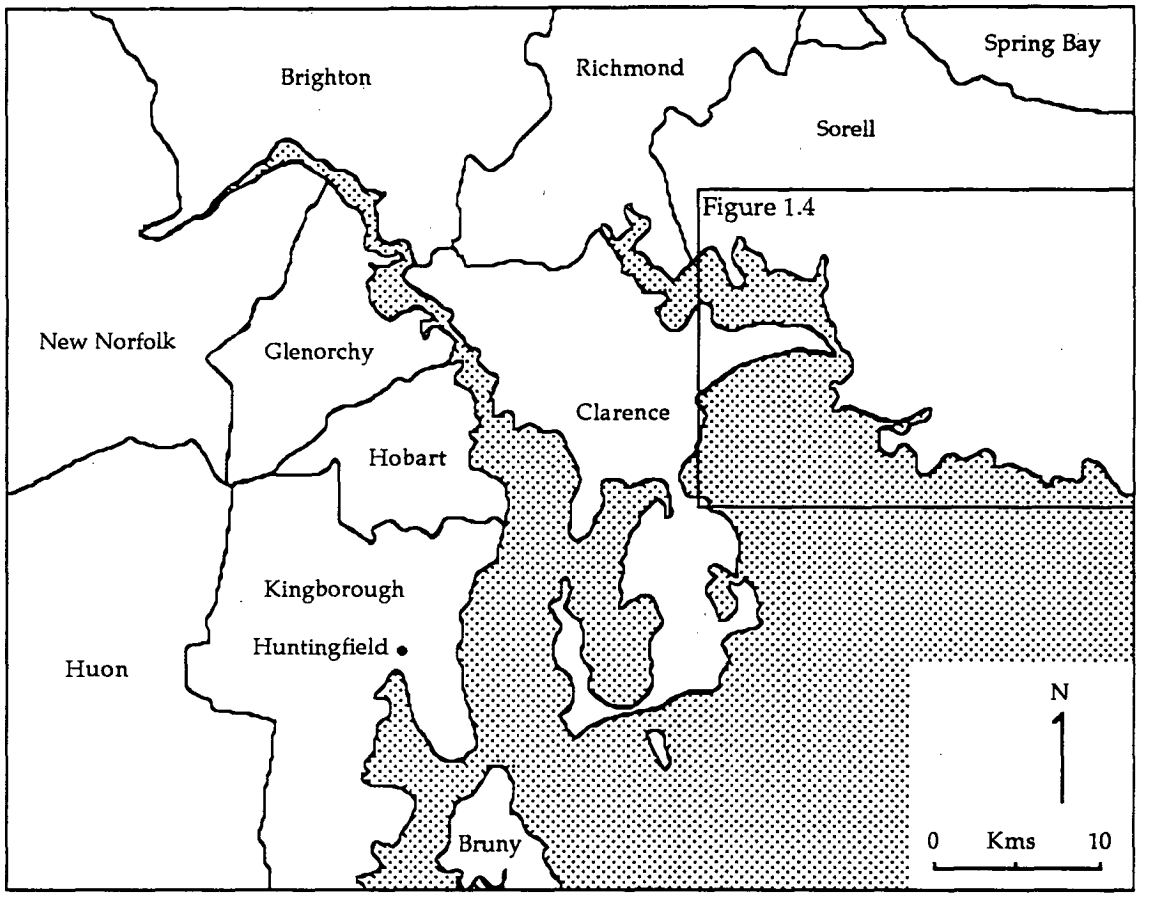


Figure 1.3 Greater Hobart Area by LGA




private market provision of housing for profit. Land and housing are treated as commodities in capitalist society and today they are distributed within the secondary circuit of capital circulation, removed from any direct relation with production and only subject to a modicum of direct state involvement. Low income households, once so essential to industry and whose state provided housing was an important component of the industry based social contract, have today been abandoned by both capital and the state and left to meet their basic housing needs within a non–responsible and self–serving private market. The private market's solution to the housing needs of low income earners is either private rental in urban areas or home purchase in isolated and poorly serviced semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches (Figure 1.4 shows the study area of the Eastern Beaches in relation to Sorell and Figure 1.5 shows the study area of the Eastern Beaches). (The definition of urban is taken as being integration into a system of reticulated water and sewage. Many households and communities beyond the reach of reticulated water and sewage, however, use and are part of Hobart's employment and housing market and commercial network. It is

**Figure 1.4 Sorell and the Eastern Beaches**

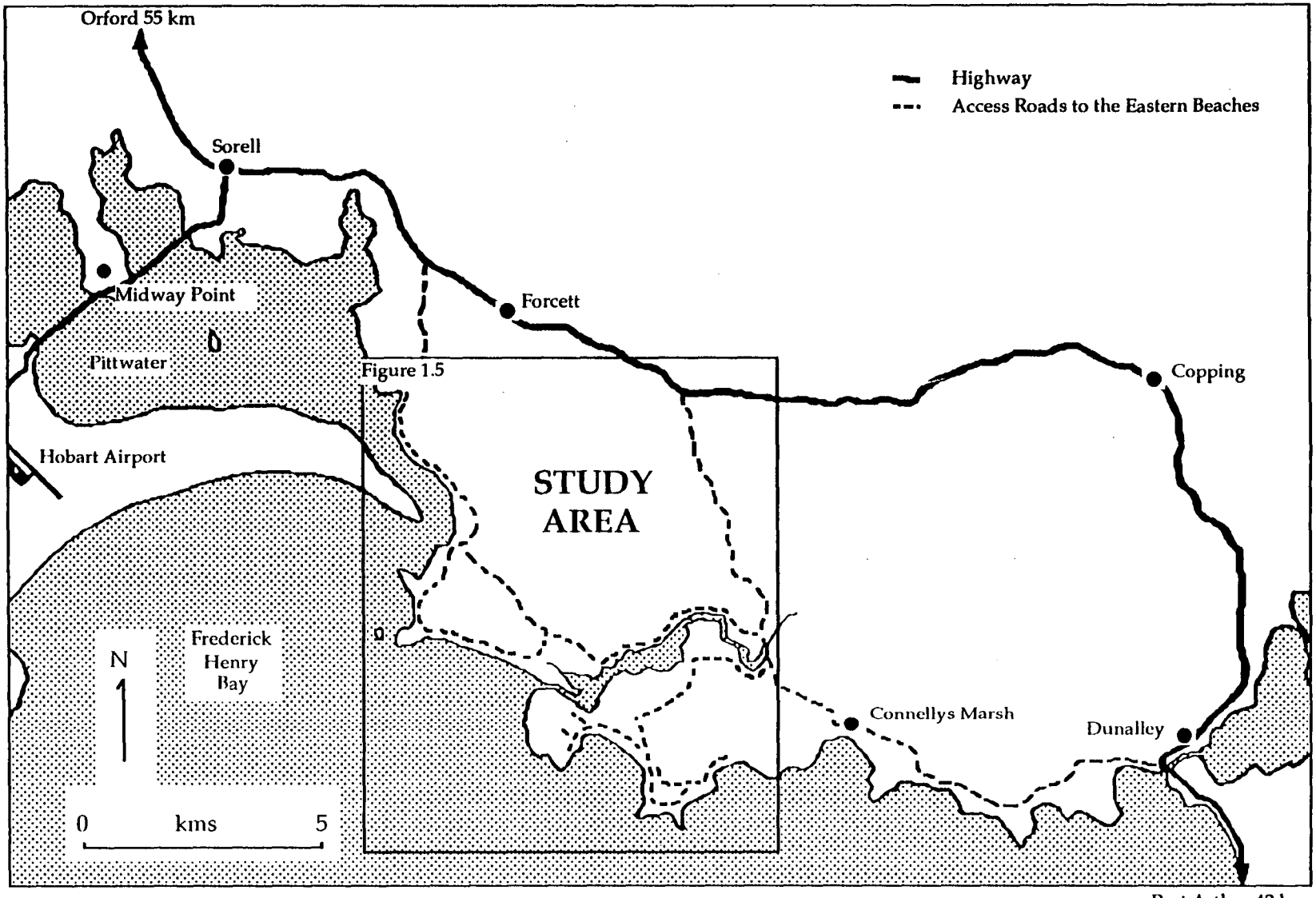
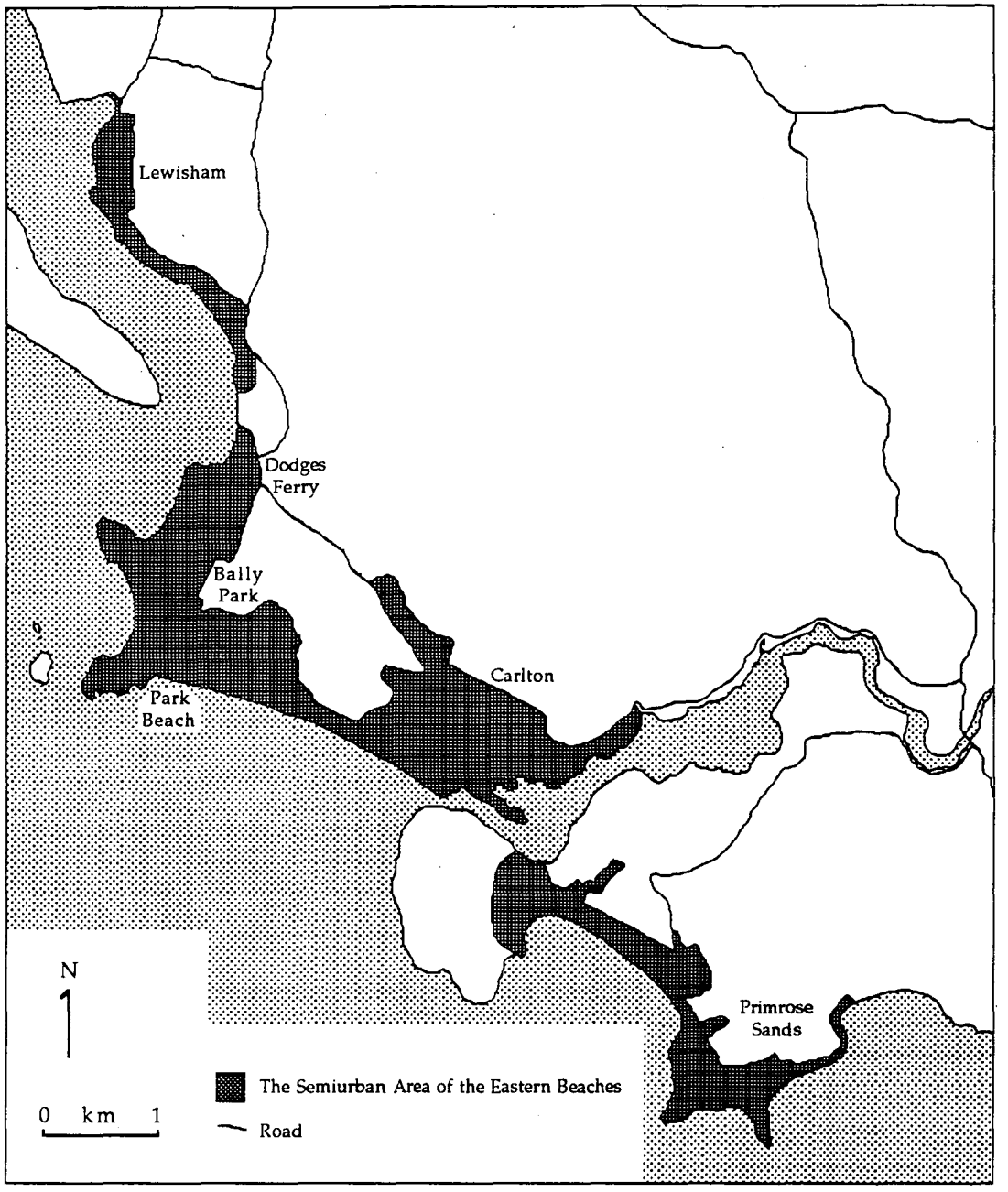


Figure 1.5 The Semiurban Area of the Eastern Beaches and Local Area Names




population in these developing areas which is most responsible for Greater Hobart's overall increase in population between 1971 and 1986 of approximately 20 per cent. These areas have many urban characteristics as well as households which travel to use many urban services in Hobart but they are not urban in the sense of having sealed roads, reticulated water and sewage, a full range of physical and social services and local employment opportunities. They are, instead, termed semiurban areas in this study. 'Greater Hobart' refers to both Hobart's urban and semiurban extent.)

Following the Great War, urban theorists began to move from the classification of cities and intercity comparisons to the study of intracity functions. The study of housing was taken up by the Chicago school of human ecologists in the 1920s (Bourne 1981, Badcock 1984 and Kilmartin *et al.* 1985). The resulting work of Park and Burgess in 1925 and Burgess in 1929, which understood variation and change in housing in terms of concentric zones, stimulated the development of alternative theories of urban differentiation and change. Instead of concentric zones, Hoyt (in 1939) proposed sectors, while Harris and Ullman (in 1945) applied a combination of zones and sectors to the understanding of intracity difference and development (for a summary of his own position as well as the work of Burgess and Park see Hoyt [1964]). One ensuing stream of research in the 1950s comprised social area analysis (Shevky and Bell in 1955) and factorial ecology which were more sophisticated methods of describing residential differentiation. Building on the original work of the Chicago school, human geographers, in the 1960s, replaced the conception of the city as a mosaic with explanatory new urban economic 'trade–off' models which explored the relationship between residential distance from the CBD and income. Another stream of analysis within the ecological tradition was behavioural ecology which, in turn, gave rise to mobility research and housing preference studies. These studies were concerned to highlight the role of individual preferences, strategies and behaviour in residential location and were undertaken by both human geographers and sociologists. In the early 1970s, consideration of the rules, procedures and managers of state urban policy was added to conceptions of differentiated and preference influenced housing outcomes. Residential differentiation was understood as being produced by the action of individuals within the framework of state urban policy; public housing policy being of particular concern (Lee [1977] is an example of work in Tasmania in an urban managerialist vein).

During the period 1965 to 1975 human geographers became interested in the urban fringe (see, for example, Johnston 1966, Pryor 1968, 1969a, 1969b, 1969c and 1976, Clonts 1970, Harmer and Webb 1977 and Robinson 1978). The urban fringe was investigated in the Australian context chiefly in Melbourne and Sydney. Initially work was intended to fill the gap in the understanding of urban gradients and sectors concerning the transitional "rural–urban continuum" (Johnston 1966 p92). It was found that whatever patterns might exist in urban areas appeared to be, at best, indistinct on the urban fringe. Pryor identified lags in service provision due to fringe

growth based on increased population mobility. The "major, almost sole, source of migrants" being pre–existing urban areas, "economic base differentials" (Pryor 1969b p166) and personal motivation were felt to merit further investigation. By 1970 attempts to model changes in land value at the urban periphery were being made, with regression analysis revealing only "expectations for land use shifts and subsequent capital gains [to be] important in determining the value of land" (Clonts 1970 p496). Interest in the urban fringe appeared to have waned by the late 1970s. The state of human geographic understanding of the urban fringe by this stage was that fringe development was almost entirely stochastic, bearing little relation to existing urban patterns, and that the decisions of developers and the motivation of individuals were important contributing factors. The shift in the understanding of the urban fringe is an example of theoretical and methodological shifts underway in human geography over the period 1965 to 1975. From spatial modelling to behaviouralism and urban managerialism many important factors in urban fringe development were identified, usually, however, in isolation. Examination of Pryor's economic base differentials and Clont's expectations of capital gain were not given priority.

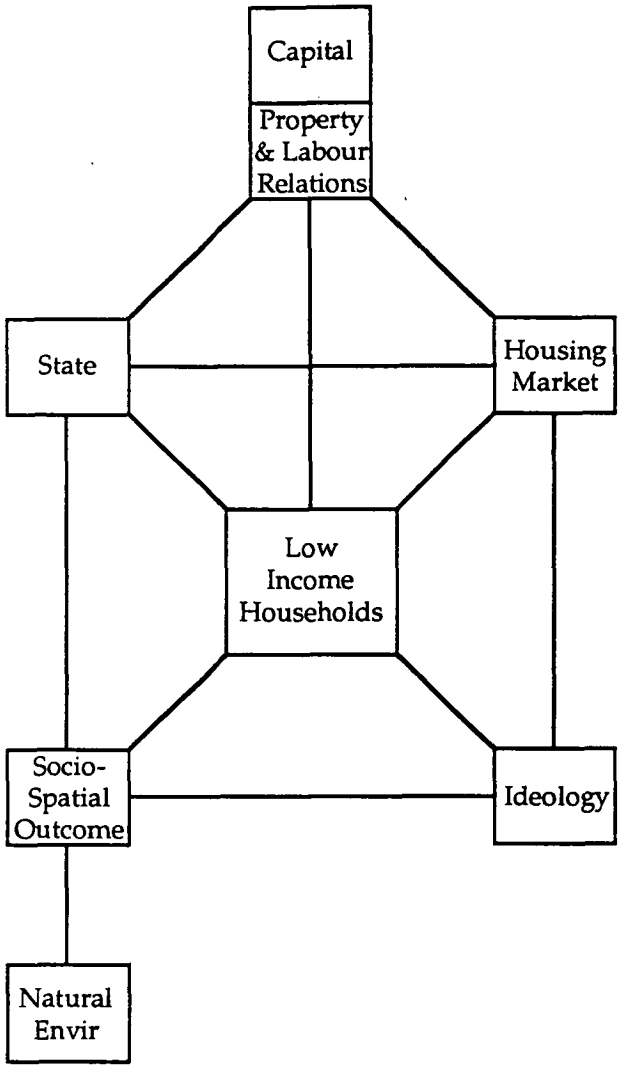
From the mid–1970s, geographers developed an interest in the distribution of wealth via housing, the equity of this distribution and the affordability of housing as a commodified basic need. Marxian theory was used to understand housing's role in consumption, investment, exchange, reproduction and legitimation. Current examples of Marxian housing analysis in Australia include Badcock (1989) and King (1989a, 1989b, 1989c and 1990) which is concerned with the applicability of housing class and the circuits of capital/uneven development model, respectively, to housing.

The ways in which geographers deal with residential differentiation have developed considerably since the descriptive work of the Chicago school of human ecologists in the 1920s. It is important to learn from the insights as well as from the deficiencies of foregoing housing analysis. The principal message is that both structure and agency need to be considered. The relative significance attached to structure and agency is of importance in this study. In short, outcomes do not simply reflect general processes. Processes are also influenced by historically and culturally effected agents. Actions and outcomes, therefore, need to be considered within the context of prevailing ideologies, roles and production relations (Wilson 1991). Today, the understanding of residential differentiation and the social, economic and political role of housing within

capitalism, as well as its spatial expression, require the consideration of three things: first, primary research concerning the values, beliefs and strategies of individuals; secondly, secondary research concerning the operation of the land and housing market and public policy; and, finally, both need to be informed by a theoretical conception of capital, labour and the state. An understanding of the structural context of outlying semiurban areas needs to be developed, based upon a conception of how wealth is unevenly distributed in capitalist society and how this comes to be spatially expressed in intracity residential differentiation, within which the influence of private and public policy and 'managers' as well as the preferences of individuals can be appreciated.

Figure 1.6 conceptualises the foci relevant to the position of low income households in this study. These foci can be conceptualised on three levels, moving from the empirical to the theoretical. First, there are four empirical foci, namely the position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area in relation to the commodities land and housing and the impact of these three interrelated foci upon the natural environment. Secondly, there are four operational foci, namely the land and housing market, the policies of the state, the strategies of individuals and the influence of ideology. The position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area is influenced by the operation of the land and housing market (which is based upon state subsidised infrastructure and which promotes a particular low value residential outcome in coincidence with the scaling down of public housing), the ideology of home ownership and the circulation of capital for profit. Finally, there is one major theoretical focus, namely the capital–labour relation. The capital–labour relation is important in three ways. First, based upon capitalist property relations, the capital–labour relation underpins the position of labour in the housing market. On the one hand, capital is responsible for alienating labour from the land. On the other, labour must enter into a production based wage relation with capital in order to earn the money needed to purchase a home. Position in the labour market, based upon the different relations of capital and labour to production, influences position in the housing market. Secondly, housing has in the past been central to the industrial capital–labour relation. Housing is crucial to the social reproduction of labour power, a connection recognised by the state. The decline in the industrial capital–labour relation has implications for the importance of the local social reproduction of labour power for industry and the state's housing role in this process. Industrial restructuring has weakened industry's contribution to the

**Figure 1.6 Foci Relevant to the Position of Low Income Households in this Study**




local social contract (through industry, in many instances, reducing employment but increasing production) with implications for industry based prosperity, the financial position (fiscal crisis) and thus role of the state, and the direct (wage related) and indirect (service related) welfare of labour. Finally, these changes in the capital–labour relation have affected the role and nature of housing in Hobart. Developments such as the internationalisation of production and trade by multinational corporations influence the structure of local employment markets, the position and role of the state, the nature of development and the configuration of the city. These affect, in turn, who is living in what form of housing and where.

These foci need to be considered in order to understand the social production of space. Locational disadvantage, for instance, associates disadvantage with location, thereby promoting the locational policy response of urban consolidation. Superficial understanding results in superficial policy. Locational disadvantage is not solely a locational problem and thus can not simply be spatially fixed. It is vital that the position of low income households living in semiurban areas be understood as an expression of disadvantage which is based upon social structures, processes and relations. Why, for example, are low income households less able to bear the costs of locational disadvantage? The spaces which individuals occupy and across which they move are socially produced and it is the nature of this production as well as the way in which individuals relate with social space that needs to be understood. Locational disadvantage is a social product of, among other things, the operation of the profit oriented land and housing market, the policies of the state, the ideology of home ownership and the strategies of individuals for whom opportunity and constraint within the housing market is influenced by position in the labour market.

The approach and topic in this study require the review of three different types of literature. The first type is literature relating to the approach in this study. Metatheory, developments in theory in human geography, Marxism, realism and the linking of theory and research are discussed in Chapter 2. The second type is literature relevant to the topic in this study. Literature relating to housing, urban infrastructure provision, locational disadvantage, urban sprawl and the affect of these upon the natural environment is discussed in Chapter 3. The third type is literature relating to the background and scope in this study. Global and national influences upon Australia, Tasmania and specifically upon developments in Hobart over time are discussed in Chapter 4.

The chapter structure in this study reflects the literature reviewed. In Chapter 2, the approach in this study is discussed in detail. First, metatheoretical considerations are outlined in order to lay the foundation for the theoretical approach to research in this study. Next, theory in human geography is briefly examined before moving on to Marxian tenets and developments and an outline of a realist perspective. Finally, the linking of theory and research is discussed. In Chapter 3, a summary of literature reviewed for this study and published as a research report (Bradshaw 1992) is given. In this summary, housing developments, semiurban development, infrastructure

provision, urban form and the natural environment, locational disadvantage and urban consolidation and the treatment of urban issues in the literature are discussed. In Chapter 4, the scope in this study is set out and some of the background to the topic is provided. The present position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area is the result of both macro (at the global–national scale, for example, multinational corporations and national governments) and micro influences (at the local scale, for example, low income households, the local state and the local land and housing market) operating across and expressed within space and conditioned by previous spatial expressions of macro–micro influences.

In Chapter 5, the specific methodology used in this study is outlined. In Chapter 6, human and natural environmental secondary data are presented. Semiurban areas are shown to be increasing in population, a significant proportion of which is made up of low income households which are primarily attracted to semiurban areas (within the context of urban land and housing price rises contributing to housing affordability problems for low income households) by lower land and housing prices. Low density semiurban development is also shown to be environmentally insensitive as it increases private motor vehicle use and thus finite fossil fuel depletion and carbon dioxide ($CO_2$) emissions. In Chapter 7, first, human environmental secondary data for the Eastern Beaches is presented followed by primary data from the interview survey. Secondly, natural environmental secondary data for the Eastern Beaches is presented in the form of previously researched environmental impacts as well as perceived environmental impacts and issues based upon the interview survey.

In Chapter 8, theory and research are related and discussed. There are two sections in Chapter 8: first, a discussion of the human environment; and, secondly, a discussion of the natural environment. Discussion of the human environment outlines the decline of the industry based social contract in Hobart, considers locational disadvantage and urban consolidation to require an appreciation of structure and agency, outlines the structural framework underlying semiurban development, discusses how ideology is shaped by, and in turn shapes, social actions and outcomes, outlines the influence of agency upon outcomes, processes and relations and, finally, links structure and agency as both influence the defining and mediating of social processes which operate at a particular time in relation to a particular spatial configuration to produce a particular contingent semiurban outcome in the case of the

Eastern Beaches. Discussion of the natural environment outlines the need for an environmental management plan for the Eastern Beaches in conjunction with a development plan for the area. Moreover, environmental management and development in the Eastern Beaches need to be undertaken within the framework of an overall guiding vision for the City of Hobart. Finally, in Chapter 9 a summary and conclusions reached in this study are given. The underlying theme in this study is that current semiurban development is inappropriate for low income households, the state and the natural environment.

# 2.0 APPROACH

The aim in this chapter is to outline the approach used in this study. The foci in this chapter are epistemology and ontology, theory and research. The themes in this chapter are the philosophical foundations of an approach, theory in human geography, the theoretical approach used in this study and the linking of theory and research. The goal in this chapter is to discuss how the theoretical approach used in this study is influenced by epistemology and ontology, is situated within theory in human geography and combines with research to form the approach used in this study.

> Societies do not usually present themselves to us with their workings exposed. We have to make an effort to make sense of the world, and we do this by adopting a particular approach. An approach imposes some order on our investigations, determining how we carve up reality into bits, and what kind of theories are built to explain what we find (Lovering 1989 p198).

Less visible social processes and relations need to be considered in order to understand the topic. This complex task is tackled by adopting explicitly a specific approach. This approach does two things: first, it orders the examination of the topic by establishing both theoretically and empirically informed priorities and associations; and, secondly, it directs an understanding of the topic, interactively combining both theory and research. In this chapter, the task is to detail how these general requirements are dealt with regarding the approach in this study.

The structure in this chapter is: first, to discuss the philosophical foundations of an approach; secondly, to summarise theory in human geography; thirdly, to outline the theoretical approach in this study; and, finally, to discuss the linking of theory and research as the centrepiece of an appropriate approach to the topic.

## 2.1 METATHEORETICAL STARTING POINTS

In this section the basis upon which any discipline in social research rests, including human geography, is explored. This involves clarifying the philosophical concepts of epistemology and ontology. It is important to recognise the ways in which knowledge is generated and used. The artificial nature of our investigation, portrayal and understanding of reality (especially shifting social reality) is highlighted by looking at the construction of textual narrative.

According to Sayer (1989 p254):

> The attempt to make empirical studies theoretically informed has brought into question the relationship between analysis and narrative, and between law–seeking or nomological approaches and contextualising approaches, while the problem of writing texts which construct geohistorical syntheses has raised the issue of the composition of narratives.

In this section the foundations of the dualisms referred to by Sayer are examined. A good starting point is the following questions:

> How do you know, and how do you represent, what is real?

Human geography has long debated the ways used to link reality as it exists and reality as we see and portray it. Practice has moved from one end of the idiographic–nomothetic continuum to the other. Before dealing, however, with antecedent theory in Section 2.2, the philosophical foundations common to any approach need to be discussed.

Writers such as Resnick and Wolff (1987), Graham (1990) and Graham and St. Martin (1990) are concerned with the "origins of the dualistic conceptual formations" (Graham and St. Martin 1990 p168) whose treatment is central to the consideration of any approach. Understanding of the "bridges" (Graham and St. Martin 1990 p169) used to span the gap between thought and reality is crucial to the development of epistemology. It is these bridges which provide the "protocols for generating knowledge and distinguishing true knowledge from falsehood" (Graham and St. Martin 1990 p169).

The poles of essentialist epistemology are empiricism and rationalism. Both are considered essentialist in that empiricism construes the "observable world as the guarantor . . . of accurate knowledge" while rationalism "relies on the logic of theory to replicate the rational order of the world" (Graham and St. Martin 1990 p170); they are, however, "inversely related" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p10). For empiricism, "truth is defined as . . . representation, or . . . correspondence, or . . . adequation (to objective reality), and is designated the goal of theory" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p8). Furthermore:

> Such a theory determines the truth value of statements within other theories according to *their* adequacy in reflecting *its* concept of (unitary) reality (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p8).

For rationalism on the other hand, the "task for the process of theory is to capture, to express, the underlying essence of which reality is the phenomenon" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p10). The inherent danger in both these positions lies in their essentialist tendency. While the concepts, subjects and research techniques with which they deal are not "inherently essentialist . . . they are associated with an essentialist conception of theory, which accords to theory the role of specifying and elaborating ultimate or underlying causation" (Graham 1990 p55). Essentialism can afflict any approach, as both logical positivism and structural Marxism demonstrate (Graham and St. Martin 1990 p170).

Interpretation of reality should not be accorded any sort of "real" status. It should not be formed, presented or judged as a reflection of an objective reality. The false conflation of empirical data and the reality of knowledge is the basis for the generation of an "epistemic fallacy" (Bhaskar 1975 in Sayer 1991 p290–294 and Pratt 1991 p253) because from this position it is but a short step to claim that the empirical is theory neutral and hence that theory neutral research is possible. For Sayer (1991 p295) "all observation, even the simplest, is theory–laden" and, furthermore, "all our ideas . . . have to be considered abstract" (Sayer 1991 p290); there is no such thing as an objective fact. It is crucial that the hermeneutic nature of knowledge be recognised (Lawson and Staeheli 1991 pp232–233). It is important to reject the idea that knowledge in some way mirrors reality (which, in turn, is not a yardstick for assessing

theory). "Truths are intra– rather than inter–theoretical; they are, in a very particular sense, relative to the theories in which they are constructed" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p32).

In this section the scene is set for an epistemology which does not claim veracity in relation to either objective truth or theoretical essence; an epistemology which lays no claim to truth at all in an essentialist sense. Some of the problems relating to an essentialist conception of knowledge are exemplified by examining the standard form of textual narrative.

Human geographers are beginning to question the ways in which they have been representing reality and they are exploring alternatives. How can mosaic and melange be better represented and how can interaction, lateral relations and interconnected configurations be better conveyed? Soja (1989), Gregory (1989) and Sayer (1989) are some of the more prominent of human geographers writing about textual narrative. Concern here is not with one side of the narrative–analysis dualism (Sayer 1991) but with narrative in the broad sense, the "problem of geographic description" (Gregory 1989 p85).

Sayer (1989 pp268–270) lists seven "structuring elements" which influence research and the form of texts. They are:

- the perceived structure of the object;
- the conceptual structure of theories;
- the interests of the researcher;
- deadlines;
- a tactical, hermeneutic structuring principle, which includes authors' assessment of their audience and position in academic debate;
- the narrative structure which has a degree of autonomy and has a largely hidden influence upon how we re–present knowledge and how it is read. In short, narrative favours the episodic (structured in a quasi–teleological fashion) over the configurational; and
- the unavoidably rhetorical and elliptical character of any description or explanation and the allusions, imagery and conventions internal to any idiom.

Two points need to be made here. First, no person or theory is objective; the researcher is influenced by a multiplicity of conscious and unconscious relations and expectations. Secondly, every person is hidebound by the "poetics of [their] descriptions as much as [by] their poetry" (Gregory 1989 p91). The way we write is a "socially symbolic act" (Jameson 1984 in Gregory 1989 p90) the recognition of which is vital. In short, "problems of description become problems of representation" (Gregory 1989 p87).

The link between problematic description and theoretical conceptualisation is put by Soja (1989 p1) in his 'Preface and Postscript' thus:

> The discipline imprinted in a sequentially unfolding narrative predisposes the reader to think historically, making it difficult to see the text as a map, a geography of simultaneous relations and meanings that are tied together by a spatial rather than a temporal logic.

The position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area today requires the construction of a spatio–historic synthesis. Many of the problems raised above will not be tackled at this level, but it is as well to acknowledge that they exist. What is imperative is the development of an approach which at least attempts to deal explicitly with the complexity of our society in as open a manner as possible. Not all perspectives can be considered, but that does not mean that they are not of equal importance. The consideration of epistemology, ontology and narrative emphasises the manufactured nature of our conceptualisations of society. It also alerts us to the danger of erecting self–fulfilling but ultimately false truth criteria (especially when applied across theoretical contexts) as well as to the pitfalls of essentialism. What is needed is a theoretically informed approach which appreciates society's interconnectedness and steers an antiessentialist course through the dualistic continuum of, on the one hand, essential structuralism and, on the other, contextualism. It is crucial that theoretical developments be continually assessed in the light of the metatheoretical issues outlined above.

## 2.2 ANTECEDENT THEORY

In this section previous theoretical approaches in human geography are examined. These approaches inform today's theoretical debate and are part of the theory building process. The doctrines of positivist epistemology are fundamentally rejected.

In the view of Pudup (1988 p376):

> By reducing the understanding of society to an understanding of nature, as is accomplished in geologic models of human geography like sequent occupance (Whittlesey 1929), and by severing individual human agency from its social structural bases, traditional regional geography vitiates its own ability to answer complex questions about how and why people behave and believe as they do.

The heyday of traditional regional geography was between the Great War and World War II. Traditional regional geography was principally concerned with the uniqueness of particular peoples and places, the definition of regions as real objects and the ranking of regions. In short, traditional regional geography was "concerned only to describe the earth's surface as accurately as [possible]" (Minshull 1967 p25). Whittlesey's "compage" and Hartshorne's concept of the cultural region were used by human geographers to collate an *omnium gatherum* of quantitative regional information. Substantive criticism of regional geography was undertaken by Kimble (1952 in Minshull 1967 pp85–105) for whom the eighteenth century concept of the region was seen as being applicable only to a statically represented past, was considered difficult to define, difficult to apply outside of Europe and difficult to relate to a systematic framework. According to Soja (1989 pp36–37) traditional regional geography reduced geography:

> . . . primarily to the accumulation, classification, and theoretically innocent representation of factual material describing the areal differentiation of the earth's surface – to the study of outcomes, the end products of dynamic processes best understood by others.

For many human geographers, the answer to these problems was to develop a spatial science with which to gain human geography some scientific credibility. Spatial science considered space to be absolute, possessing causal powers and universal laws

governing spatial organisation and behaviour. The task of human geographers was to statistically and mathematically model such spatial organisation and behaviour. Instead of the environmental determinism of traditional regional geography (Pudup 1988, Peet and Thrift 1989 and Sayer 1989), urban geographers developed a stream of housing analysis based upon the naturalist principles of human ecology (see Chapter 1).

During the 1960s neoclassical economics became the preferred approach of many human geographers (for a discussion of the misnomer 'neoclassical' as well as an outline of classical theory and its relation to Marxian theory see Walker [1988]). Neoclassical economics, like spatial science with which it was linked, requires a number of assumptions to make possible its operation and iteration. These include: rationality; optimality; perfect competition, mobility and knowledge; competitive equilibrium; and market autonomy:

> In conventional economics, prices and profits are the crucial signals guiding business behaviour, perfect competition the spur to optimal behaviour and equilibrium the state to which all things tend. Satisfying individual consumer wants is the goal of economic activity, exchange the means to this end and efficient resource allocation the harmonious results of a properly functioning market. Technological change consists of smooth substitution within or between production functions, in response to market signals (Walker 1988 pp146–147).

Neoclassical economics contributes to the ideology of market ascendance by "endowing the economic side of man's character with the aura of rationality" (Polanyi 1974 p218). "Neoclassical economics begins from the realm of exchange and works back to production" (Walker 1988 p147). Exchange relations within the market are seen as being supreme, "not man, not God, least of all politics . . . has decreed the shares of labour and capital in the total product" (Nell 1972 in Barnes 1990 p996). Value is not seen as having been produced, neither is there any sense of value's reproduction.

The epistemology underlying spatial science and neoclassical economics can broadly be termed positivist. Positivism was the name given by Comte to his classifications of the findings of scientific enquiry. Today, positivism represents the view that all knowledge (knowledge being equated with truth) is scientific. Many of the principles

of the 1920s Vienna Circle logical positivists are evident, if only implicitly, in more modern positivist approaches in human geography (Bullock *et al.* 1988). For example, metaphysics is ignored and empirical verification and demonstrable analysis are given formal logical priority by neoclassical economics, resulting in the creation of perfectly rational but fictitious scenarios.

An unrealistic understanding of society is promoted by positivism's adherence to erroneous assumptions and essentialism.

> [Positivism] grounded explanation primarily in social physics, statistical ecologies, and narrow appeals to the ubiquitous friction of distance. But after all was said and done, outcomes continued to explain outcomes in an infinite regression of geographies upon geographies, one set of mappable variables 'explaining' another through the 'goodness' of fit. The adopted positivist stance, even when humanised somewhat through 'behavioural' approaches and phenomenological fine tuning, merely relegitimated Modern Geography's fixation on empirical appearances and involuted description (Soja 1989 p51).

Positivism resulted in the treatment of social space as being purely physical and in the insufficient acknowledgment of the social production of space or the spatial organisation of society (Soja 1989 pp33–34). For Sayer (1991 p302) "... the real prisoners of metaphysics are those who think they have none. Positivism thought that it could escape metaphysics, but the result was merely to hide its influence". The major fault of positivist approaches is to assume "either that all phenomena are instances of regularities and hence are general in some sense, or that ontological matters [do] not constrain method" (Sayer 1989 p263). For positivism, empirical description makes possible the formation of universally applicable laws which hold true by virtue of their relation to empirical facts; the logic of this relationship is circular.

It is important to recognise, however, that no definitive positivist approach exists and that the recent progression from neoclassical economics through new urban economics, behaviouralism, urban managerialism and structuralism is a cumulative one. Each approach reacts with and builds upon those preceding it and, it is hoped, improves upon our understanding of society in the process. Similarly, identifying a cut–off point for the decline of positivism's or essentialism's influence is problematic.

Both persist in a number of approaches post–dating the 1960s and care is required to guard against functionalist reductionism today (Gottdiener 1988 p159).

The current debate on theory is the latest round in a continuing process of theoretical development. Whilst opposition to preceding approaches is one way in which alternative positions are established it is important to retain a sense of the contributions made by antecedent theory. The perception conveyed in this section of a linear progression of theory is misleading in two ways. First, many approaches in human geography are characterised not by subtle variations in research technique or preference, but by distinct and discontinuous differences in theoretical perspective. Hence many approaches are incompatible. Secondly, 'antecedent theory' is just one conception of the body of geographic theory. This conception is unavoidably influenced by this study's theoretical bent. For many human geographers, antecedent theory represents legitimate alternative approaches.

## 2.3 THE THEORETICAL APPROACH USED IN THIS STUDY

The combining of Marxian tenets with critical human geography resulted in the development of a number of separate but related streams of investigation (Soja 1989 p54). These included urban political economy, the geography of international development and industrial geography. This study is more concerned with urban political economy, though the latter two also influence social outcomes. As Gregory (1989 p72) points out, political economy was never explicitly geographic. It has had to be adapted for use as a paradigm in geography and the combination of Marxian political economy and critical human geography continues today.

Political economy is a radical paradigm based upon broad Marxian tenets. It has a number of particular emphases which colour its orientation of the understanding of society (for the contributions of writers such as Wheelwright and Stilwell 1978, Procter 1982, Badcock 1984 and Kilmartin *et al.* 1985 see Bradshaw 1989). Political economy is a "general, critical theory emphasising the social production of existence" (Peet and Thrift 1989 p3). According to Gregory (1989 p72):

> Political economy [can] properly claim to deal with social relations rather than hypothetical individuals, with the sphere of production as well as with the sphere of exchange, and with crisis and conflict rather than equilibrium. It [is] historically sensitive too.

As set out in Chapter 1, political economy is used as a broad framework within which a range of considerations can be related. Each of these considerations, however, needs to be appreciated within its specific theoretical context. Thus, outlining the particular considerations of Marxism and realism is required before their relation within the framework of political economy is possible. A realist perspective of Marxian theory forms the backbone of the approach used in this study. The tenor of the approach in this study is neo–Marxian, not in the spirit of the work of the Frankfurt school nor of neo–structuralists such as Althusser, but in the sense of being a method of academic enquiry rather than a political activity.

### 2.3.1 Marxian Tenets and Developments

Reacting against mainstream positivist approaches human geographers began, during the early 1970s, to adopt a more radical outlook. This had implications for the way in which they viewed society as well as the approaches they used to understand it. A major component of the radical geographic turn was the critical contribution of Marxism:

> Historical materialism became the preferred route to connect spatial form with social process (Soja 1989 p52).

In this subsection basic Marxian tenets are outlined and the importance of structure and agency is emphasised, leading to a discussion of the case for the continuing relevance of Marxism.

First, theory is taken to mean (following Harvey and Scott [1989 p223]):

> The creation of the intellectual preconditions for self–consciousness of the structures of capitalist domination coupled with the construction of coherent representations and analytical tools to facilitate [the understanding of capitalism].

In short, Marxism is a theory of production. Under the Capitalist System, labour competes for wage earning employment within an organised system of production which is structured so as to yield surplus value (actuated by labour) which is appropriated by individual entities due to their control of the means of production. 'Capitalists' must accumulate surplus value in order to pursue competitive rendering strategies; they must "accumulate or be accumulated" (Badcock 1984 p65):

> The goal of capitalism is accumulation, and the production, investment and expansion of surplus value the principal means to this end. Competition arises from the drive to accumulate and spurs capitalism to further exertions to survive and gain advantage over their fellows, and these efforts, in turn, constantly disrupt existing conditions of production. Furthermore, technological change evolves in an uneven and inconstant fashion, always keeping the production system out of joint. Equilibrium is a possibility always just out of reach, uncertainty an ever-present condition of business operation. The 'market' is a set of practical institutions for economic exchange, and prices and profits proximate guides in a rapidly shifting world of production in which there are no absolutes (Walker 1988 p147).

The relationship between capital and labour is exploitative and, hence, their interests are contradictory and the state is often required to mediate between them as well as to provide infrastructure needed by both capital and labour. Tension also exists between the dynamic requirements of different fractions of capital centering around use value and exchange value. There exists "a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it . . . at a subsequent point in time" (Harvey 1985a p113). Dynamism in search of accumulation is the engine of conflict and change. The built environment exemplifies this conflict and change as certain fractions of capital seek to replace or devalue use values which are still of (often uneconomic) value to others. Finally, a sphere of commodity exchange is necessary to realise profit:

> The theory of value grounds prices in the conditions of production, and particularly in the central fact of social labour for human industry. The theory of surplus value explains the origin of profits as a surplus gleaned from social labour, and removes any illusions about zero profit margins; efficiency is secondary to exploitation among the functions of the capitalist class. The theory of accumulation makes it clear that this is a system always in motion, for which equilibrium is anathema. The theory

> of circulation shows the way capital flows through the hands of capitalism as investment and back again. The theory of competition provides a specific mechanism for the urgency with which capitalists seek out new sources of surplus value. The theory of technical change (and relative surplus value) introduces the transformative power of industrialisation, as capitalism unleashes the forces of production. Marx's theory of capital . . . offers the soundest approach to economic growth and decline in the contemporary capitalist world (Walker 1988 p174).

The capitalist mode of production is "both . . . a relation between . . . individuals, and . . . their specific active relation to inorganic nature" upon which is based "a legal and political superstructure, and to which correspond[s] definite forms of social consciousness" (Marx 1970 in Peet and Thrift 1989 p9). Dialectical materialism, then, "analyses societies in terms of modes of production, the struggle within them of forces and relations of production, and the succession of modes of production through time" (Peet and Thrift 1989 p8).

The nature and role of class in capitalist society is difficult to ascertain and more difficult to study (for a summary of work on class in Marxian human geography see Low [1990]). In short, currently it is felt that economic relations define one aspect of class position and lay some basic foundations upon which a plethora of non–class structures is based. Allegiance and interaction are constantly shifting over time as well as changing from issue to issue. This is often within the formal structure of the state which can embody a number of seemingly (from a purely economic perspective) contradictory cross class alliances. For many, therefore, economic class, though an important determinant, is an inappropriate indicator of social position; economic class needs to be considered in conjunction with important non–class structures and ensuing cross class coalitions.

The difficulty of studying class is exemplified by attempts to understand housing from the perspective of class. The concept of housing classes is insufficiently conclusive for use in this study. Recent Australian research (Badcock 1989, Thorns 1989, King 1989a, 1989b, 1989c and 1990) points to the need for clarification:

> Without further research nothing conclusive can be said about the range in the accumulative potential of home ownership, or how that varies for different categories of owners and how that might impinge on the reconstitution of social

structure (Badcock 1989 p89).

In short, the validity of the concept is still being questioned. Further to this, Gottdiener (1988) sees the notion of the formation of specific class based interest around housing (if it proves possible to discern class within the seemingly amorphous variety of the home owning majority), based on housing's potential for accumulation for home owners (which is still debatable), as ignoring, at any rate, the basis of this alignment:

> . . . the homeowner–renter relation is a contingent product of deeper sociospatial factors which articulate with the social structure of capitalism to produce, in realist fashion, different interests organised around land, including the clash between cultural, political, and economic interests (Gottdiener 1988 p169).

In addition to the above, the influence of the home, its immediate neighbourhood and its location upon class association (including the role of women in consumption based class relations) is beyond the scope in this study (for an example of this focus, however, see McCrone and Elliott [1989]).

*Property*

Whether on a large or small scale, property ownership confers some form of power, wealth or security. The "socialisation of production" (Harloe 1981) required the separation of production from consumption. The imposition of "time, work discipline" (Thompson 1984), the differentiation between work and home (in time as well as in space) and the consideration of labour as a factor of production are noted consequences of the incipient capitalist mode of production (see also Harvey 1989 pp230–235). Crucial to the alienation of labour from the land was the capitalist control of space.

It is still the case today that "all production is appropriation of nature on the part of an individual within and through a specific form of society" (Marx 1973 in Peet and Thrift 1989 p8). The emphasis is upon individuals (there is no such thing as the "hidden hand" of the market) and their control of the means of production through the exclusive ownership and control of private property.. Property is one of capitalism's "bottom lines" (Morgan and Sayer 1988 p14). Capital and labour occupy different

positions regarding the capitalist production process. Capital controls the means of production and can "hire and fire labour" (Morgan and Sayer 1988 p15). Without property (a place to subsist) labour must work (for capitalists) in order to earn the money to buy a place in space as well as the goods needed to survive.

The lack of a property resource confirms labour's subordinate position in relation to the capital controlled production process. It also confirms, via the housing market, labour as a factor of consumption. The circulation of capital is pervasive, affecting both urban and non–urban areas. In the urban arena, however, the ever changing built environment concretely exemplifies the circulation of capital as well as points to some of the dynamics underlying this circulation. Uneven development is a necessary result as well as being a requirement for capital circulation. In a broad sense, the built environment represents use values imposed upon labour by capital. The capitalist system "defines the standard of living of labour . . . through the creation of built environments which conform to the requirements of accumulation and commodity production" (Harvey 1981 p18). While, on a general level, a mutually affective tug–of–war centres around the definition of the built environment, between "what is good for people and what is good for accumulation" (Harvey 1981 p20), the specifics of urban development are fundamentally influenced by the ownership or control of property. The engine of urban growth (capital) is, to a major extent, reliant upon existing property ownership in determining the particularities of urban form and change.

Land and housing have both use and exchange value. They are, however, valued primarily in exchange as commodities. The market does not recognise that individuals may have housing use rights; the right to shelter, for example, can only be considered publicly. The market only relates to what people will exchange for land or housing; land and housing have been commodified in capitalist society and their use value has been de–emphasised. The separation of use and exchange value in land and housing is a major component of today's housing crisis. That separation is based upon the institution of private property.

Three points need to be made regarding property (McCrone and Elliott 1989 pp1–21):

- property is an institution, a bundle of rights governing access, use, benefit,

alienation and exchange of objects;

- property rights in western society are vested in individual entities; and
- property rights are socially created and sanctioned:

> Western societies retain a powerful and distinctive conception of property – one which emphasises its individual character. That conception is not 'natural'; it is certainly not universal. Like other alternative constructions, it is the result of specific historical conditions and processes (McCrone and Elliott 1989 p5).

Thus, property rights consist of a number of facets: they are central to the capital–labour relation; represent an important commodity in exchange; relate differently to men and women; are enshrined in law; are a contentious element of the political process; are a source of power and wealth; are an important part of the ideological framework of capitalism; and they are dynamic:

> Property penetrates all areas of our lives from the most personal and intimate to the most highly structured, formal or abstract; from our relations with family or friends to our rights as citizens, to the laws we obey, or the ideologies we espouse. Property and the meanings we give to it helps shape our conceptions of who and what we are (McCrone and Elliott 1989 p18).

### *Land Rent*

The theory of land rent remains contentious (for a summary of work on the theory of land rent see Haila [1990]). Building upon Ricardo and later Marx's initial pronouncements, human geographers have worked to apply the concept of land rent to contemporary urban capitalism. The role of land rent in the unequal differentiation of the residential housing market is relevant in this study:

> Since income distribution is highly skewed in capitalist societies and the number of good locations presumably limited, it is very possible that the quantity of consumers' surplus declines disproportionately with declining income of the group (Harvey 1973).

Harvey's (1982) understanding of the role of land rent centres around land's fictitious commodification. He considers it crucial to orient a perception of land rent towards the understanding of the participants (and the imperatives underlying their behaviour) involved in the social creation and maintenance of land values. The ability to accrue wealth and exercise power through the ownership of land, based on private property rights, is central to the understanding of the operation of the land market. The social production of value and land rent and the forces which coalesce around the institution of private property under capitalism need to be acknowledged:

> The social basis of [the] law of value means that urban land values can be creations of cultural or political as well as economic factors (Gottdiener 1988 p177).

In short, if the spatial differentiation of our cities is to be grasped then the social production of land rent and land value needs to be understood as well as the position, motivation and operation of different interest groups (including varying ability to create, manipulate, speculate or, more prosaically, pay land rent) regarding the production and use of urban land (for both profit and purpose).

*The State*

The state is the third variable in the political economy equation, mediating between capital and labour as well as between fractions and cross–cutting alliances of both. A complex range of theories has evolved in an attempt to understand the role of the state. Conception of the state begins, for Marxists, with the dictum "the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx 1973 in Harvey 1985b). This, however, is meant polemically for the state embodies a central contradiction, or "double edged freedom" (Harvey 1985b). Most democratic states claim to preserve an individual's right to legal equality and freedom of choice, speech and conscience focussing on the political process (via universal suffrage). Capitalist economic imperatives, meanwhile, require freedom to exploit and monopolise at the public expense based upon private property rights (in other words, collective inequality [Duncan and Goodwin 1988 pp37–43]). The state must "reconcile corporate planning with democratic accountability" (Saunders 1981 p264). The state's predominant relationship with capital in this process is rendered

"peculiarly opaque" (Harvey 1985b) by the myth of atomistic equality (which founders not only on collective inequality but on a commodified and biased [against women and minority groups] legal process) as well as by the state's posturing in the name of the "common good" or "public interest". Duncan and Goodwin (1988 pp39–40) summarise the state's position thus:

> . . . atomistic equality in fact takes place in a situation where collective inequalities are paramount . . . This abstraction of political relations from class relations is specific to the capitalist state . . . [and] it is this transmutation of real social relations into artificial legal relations which is the 'state form' of the capital–labour relation.

The following precis of the role of the state is based upon the work of Harvey (1981, 1985a and 1985b), Saunders (1981) and Clark and Dear (1981 and 1984), a summary of research into the local state is given in Fincher (1989). In short, the state is needed to:

- meet the collective requirements of capital both infrastructurally and ideologically (for example, legitimation and suppression) in response to Harvey's (1985a) two major contradictions in capitalism, namely capital's inability to act in concert and its fundamentally antagonistic relation with labour;
- regulate and facilitate the operation of the private market;
- socially engineer and oversee the distribution of resources along ostensibly equitable principles to the point of market censure; and
- arbitrate between conflicting social groups.

These roles are necessary for the functioning of the capitalist system and they provide the guiding principles for the state's operation. The first two can be broadly termed social investment and the latter two social consumption (Saunders 1981). In no sense is the state simply a manager of capital; "capital may be omnipresent . . . but it is neither omniscient nor omnipotent" (Harvey 1985a p30). The state and individuals have considerable latitude, especially concerning social consumption. Here the specifics of broad requirements (legitimacy, public health and housing) are open, within certain limits, to considerations of equity, equality and local popular pressure. The state plays a crucial role in facilitating and directing the conceptualisation and co–ordination of social consumption. Furthermore, the state's "relative autonomy"

from social groups increases the complexity of its role as "contradictory interests . . . may find expression in different parts of the state apparatus" (Anderson 1985 p186):

> The fragmented structure of the state affects its capacities to engage in economic management or crisis–resolution and, conversely, its *sui generis* dynamic and the structural legacy of institutionalised compromise mean that it has a certain inertial force (Jessop 1990 p200).

The "fractionated nature of the relationship between the state and capital, itself constituted by fractions" (Gottdiener 1988 p204) is central to understanding the state's contradictory position. Because the state embodies the ability to act contrary to capital's interests, capital liaises closely with the state, often at higher echelons, in order to advance its own interests as well as to nullify potentially harmful developments.

Gottdiener (1988 pp203–204) chronicles the post World War II growth of the "interventionist state" within the context of consumer capitalism. This includes:

> Price supports for products . . . minimum wage and unemployment supports for workers; a wide variety of legislative acts which support economic activities and help structure select industries, such as housing and banking; a wide variety of programs which subsidise scientific and organisational research; vast spending programs involving projects in the built environment either under direct state auspices or under combined state–private auspices, such as urban renewal; a taxation structure which supports spending in select areas, such as single family homes . . . structuration of credit, which encourages high levels of personal consumption; and, finally, state regulatory and planning agencies at every level of government.

As far as land use is concerned, the state is less directly involved, the emphasis being at "the deep level laws and regulations, such as zoning or tax policies, which derive from the juridical safeguards of capitalist property relations and which indirectly create the incentives that then subsidise direct action along certain lines rather than others – generally by subsidising growth" (Gottdiener 1988 p204).

Duncan and Goodwin (1988 pp68–75) outline the state's mediating role thus:

> Rather than existing as a mere reflection of the uneven development of capital, states stand in a complex mediating position between capital, civil society and nature.

Uneven development intrinsic to capitalism gives rise to spatial divisions of labour, the state, civil society and imagined community, all of which have evolved separately, simultaneously and interactively (Duncan and Goodwin 1988). Aspects of this complexity are captured by Moser and Low (1986 p1457):

> Given a competitive party system, a government must constantly endeavour to win votes. It can only do so by implementing programmes of service to the electorate and by the promotion of economic growth. These tasks may frequently be in conflict but they both plainly depend on the government nurturing the process of capital accumulation in the area of its constituency. The state has to balance its actions in favour of capital against the separate and contradictory demands of labour which may take two different forms: Demands from the community for programmes, and demands by workers in existing programmes for favourable treatment and for enlargement of existing programmes.

The social reproduction of labour power is an instructive concept which helps in understanding the complicated nature of the state's contradictions. Both capital and labour contribute taxes to the state for expenditure on social investment (directly to capital's benefit) and social consumption (directly to labour's and indirectly to capital's benefit). Capital's direct requirements over–ride those of labour. When the state is forced to reduce expenditure it is most likely that labour (for example, welfare or residential infrastructure) will suffer. The democratic nature of society, however, means that the state walks a tightrope, balancing its "corporatist", production oriented capitalist requirements with its "pluralist", consumption oriented democratic ones (Duncan and Goodwin 1988).

"Tax struggle is the lowest form of class struggle" (Marx in O'Connor 1973). Both capital and labour contest the uses to which their taxes are put. Labour, however, is in an inferior bargaining position as it exists in relation to a process of production defined and controlled by capital and within which the state's main role is to fulfill capital's requirements. Labour's access to the state is primarily via the ballot box and lacks co–ordination while capital arguably accesses the state at higher and less diffuse levels

of informal decision making. Budget cuts put the state in an invidious position. Cuts must not threaten the viability of capital nor, at the same time, incur the ire of the electorate. This is the fiscal crisis of the state (O'Connor 1973 and Sandercock 1978). What to cut and how to minimise the political damage are questions upon which governments rise and fall. Decisions may often benefit labour but they rarely disadvantage capital.

The state occupies a central, if uneasy, position within the capitalist system. It can be conceptualised as an "ensemble of structural forms, institutions, and organisations whose functions for capital are deeply problematic" (Jessop 1990 p200). The state is fundamentally supportive of capital yet democratically beholden to labour. It would help all, but for the helping of some being the hurting of others. It is a democratic institution within a capitalist society. Overall the state must meet the requirements of capital if capitalism is to survive, but on specific issues or in specific places the state provides the opportunity for the expression and empowering of local or popular preferences:

> The state . . . can be seen as a complex ensemble of institutions, networks, procedures, modes of calculation, and norms as well as their associated patterns of strategic conduct (Jessop 1990 p200).

*Circuits of Capital*

One major development in urban political economy has been achieved by Harvey (1982 and 1985a). Building on Lamarche's functional specialisation of capital, Harvey developed a conceptualisation of accumulation which involved different circuits of capital circulation. The primary circuit of capital circulation is production based while the secondary circuit revolves predominantly around the built environment. Within the primary circuit, capital's need to accumulate, develop and grow in order to stay competitive is hampered by the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. It is in search of more favourable profit rates that capital is "switched" from the primary to the secondary circuit of capital circulation. Within the secondary circuit, however, capital tends to overaccumulate. The state participates in both these circuits to assist in the circulation of capital by assuming the burden of collective provision and

devalorisation. In this way the state is integral to the development and form of urban outcomes. Functional specialisation occurs within circuits for both capital and the state. For example, in the secondary circuit particular state institutions have evolved to co–ordinate the built environment's production (for example, planning and infrastructure provision) in the interests of both specialised capital (for example, developers, financiers and speculators) and specific interest groups (for example, residents, home owners and environmentalists). This confluence of often competing interests (including those of the state itself) is fundamentally relevant to the position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area today.

*The Continuing Importance of Marxian Theory*

In the initial effort to discern the structural rationale underlying society the importance of structure was overemphasised (see, for example, Harvey 1973). Since this point, debate has focussed upon the imputed importance of structure (or Harvey's [1982] "capital logic") as opposed to agency. Debate revolves around Marx's aphorism; "people make history but not in circumstances of their own choosing". Duncan and Goodwin (1988 pp64–65) put it thus:

> It is, of course, people who create and run . . . social and economic processes even if they do not do so in freedom from others, or in conditions of their own choosing, and with the nightmare of the past always bearing down on them.

For Harvey (1987 p368):

> People – both individually and collectively – are perpetually struggling so as to make their own history but . . . they do so under material conditions that are not made by them.

Writers such as Harvey (1987 and 1989), Graham (1988), Lovering (1989), Sayer (1991) and Resnick and Wolff (1987) consider the drift away from Marxian tenets by those asserting the importance of the individual to be unwarranted as well as to be based upon a number of misconceptions. Harvey (1987 p369) takes issue, first, with the "terrorism of isms", referring to the practice of applying a general label to a complex

and variegated body of theory. Proceeding from this generalisation to dismiss, or apply general strictures to a particular body of theory does not do justice to either the theory in question or its critical interpretation. "They construct a unitary, unchanging essence called Marxism and then they demolish it with scorn . . . Marxism, like any other tradition, is a multiple and contradictory discourse" (Graham 1988 p63).

For Marxists a common starting point for rebuttal is to argue that the often cited "essentialist devil incarnate" (Lovering 1989 p7), Louis Althusser, has been unfairly treated. Lovering (1989) documents the receptivity of Althusser to such antiessentialist themes as overdetermination and structuration. Resnick and Wolff (1987) attribute to Althusser the identification of themes such as overdetermination and contradiction as well as the epistemological break (from essentialism) in Marx's work. Peet and Thrift (1989) consider that:

> In Althusser's formulation, 'non–economic' elements, such as consciousness and politics, were relatively autonomous in an *overdetermined* social structure . . . For Althusser, society was a complex 'structure in dominance', yet human beings were bearers, rather than makers, of social relations.

For Harvey (1987), off–hand criticism based upon the work of Althusser not only tars all Marxists with the same brush, it also works against the thoughtful consideration of Althusser's contribution (beyond simply his "instructive anti–positivism" [Soja 1989 p53]). The result is short–sighted censorious debate. No theory should be viewed monolithically; as Graham (1988 p63) puts it, "Marxism is dead. Long live Marxisms".

One of the criticisms levelled at Marxism is that insufficient attention is given to agency. Harvey (1987 p372) claims that Marx did, in fact, consider agency but that:

> if individuals and the specificities of history and the particularities of geography are abstracted from, then it is the processes of capital accumulation that do the abstracting. If anyone objects to the abstractions as inhuman and degrading, it is to capitalism rather than to Marx that complaints should be addressed.

Capital is "a concept in the process of being theorised through historical material enquiry" (Harvey 1987 p373). The linking of theory and enquiry is "fundamental to the Marxist endeavour" (Harvey 1987 p373). To ignore this link is to weaken Marxian

theory as well as to take the first step down the road to empiricism. That Marx pursued (as Harvey does today) theoretical enquiry did not mean that empirical enquiry was either ignored or subordinated. The consideration and understanding of specificity and particularity (in the light of theory) is central to Marxism.

To the charge of Marxism being an essentialist or totalising theory, Harvey (1987 p375) rejoins:

> There are no discourses that are in themselves totalising simply because they seek to understand either the intricate mesh of forces at work within the totality of our contemporary world, or the totalising effects and forms of capitalism.

Enquiry does need to take account of diversity in the world. The totalising nature of the capitalist system, however, must also be acknowledged. Indeed, capitalism's pervasion of society to the point of general unconscious and uncritical acceptance means that the investigation of capitalism's social origins, development and principles of operation is all the more appropriate:

> The surface ebullition of contemporary capitalist society and all of its shifting transitoriness conceal or reduce to mere 'naturalness' its stubborn underlying continuities (Harvey and Scott 1989 p219).

We do not live in a social system whose maxims are natural or logically privileged. Society is socially constructed and organised. Knowledge of the way in which it operates (in varying degrees of equity across society, space and time) as well as its underlying "logic" is crucial to the understanding of social outcomes. The most appropriate "conceptual point of entry" (Resnick and Wolff 1987) should be used as a starting point for understanding. In a capitalist society that entry point must be the "economic process of performing and appropriating surplus labour" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p26).

The relevance of Marxism has been called into question, together with other nomothetic approaches, within the context of the debate concerning postmodernity. Many of the authors already cited are also concerned with postmodernity (for example, Harvey 1989 and Soja 1989). Disagreement surrounds the true nature of postmodernity, as to whether it is a distinct break from modernity or a semantic

diversion (see, for example, Harvey 1987, Berman 1988, Williams 1989, Bramble and Fieldes 1990, Webber 1991 and Massey 1991a). In short, postmodernity is relevant to human geography as it is one of the sparks which has ignited the rediscovery of the fundamental relevance of capitalist modernity in combination with a reawareness of the role and influence of agency.

The general implications of the recent debate concerning Marxism's relevance as well as its treatment of structure and agency is summarised by Harvey (1989 p355). In short, Marxian theory should give more careful consideration to:

- an appreciation of 'otherness' (for example, race or gender) as something that should be omni–present from the very beginning in any attempt to grasp the dialectics of social change;
- to the notion that aesthetic and cultural practices matter, and the conditions of their production deserve the closest attention;
- an equal appreciation of space and time; and
- historical–geographic materialism as an open–ended and dialectical mode of enquiry.

*Overdetermination*

Overdetermination (following Resnick and Wolff 1987, Graham and St. Martin 1990 and Graham 1990) is a particular perspective of Marxian theory which explicitly avoids the common charge against Marxism, namely that of essentialism. Overdetermination proceeds from the premise that society is made up of interconnected (and interdependent), causal and responsive, unique, dynamic and only ever partially understood relationships and processes (Resnick and Wolff 1987 pp19–25).

From this conception of the complexity of society, Resnick and Wolff (1987 pp1–13) exemplify overdetermination by demonstrating its influence upon epistemology. Instead of knowledge mirroring reality, and thus being measurable against objective truth, knowledge is perceived "as discourse, a fluid, even conversational process in which meaning is socially constructed and contended" (Graham and St. Martin 1990

p172). The process of theory, as indeed any process:

> . . . exists as the site of a particular interaction of all the influences stemming from all the other processes comprising any society. In this sense these other processes are all the conditions of existence of the process of theory (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p2).

Society consists of "a complex totality of relationships" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p19). These relationships are composed of processes which are the "basic unit of analysis in Marxian theory" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p19). For Marxists, the conceptual entry point for the understanding of social relations is specifically acknowledged to be "the economic process of performing and appropriating surplus labour" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p26). It is not only the use of this particular conceptual entry point which distinguishes Marxian theory, however, but the "antiessentialist deployment of its entry point: locating the class process within the web of overdeterminations comprising society" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p26). The capital–labour relation is only one of many possible entry points.

Antiessentialist Marxian theory recognises that "theories erect their [own] self–justifications alongside their [own] truth criteria" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p28). Antiessentialist Marxian theory does not claim to avoid this inevitability; instead it honestly embraces it, stating explicitly the theoretical basis of its understanding. This is preferred to the guise of value free impartiality.

The conceptual entry point of the capital–labour relation affects the way in which Resnick and Wolff's (1987 pp20–25) four main groups of processes are perceived. These are:

- cultural processes (for example, the media, educational institutions, churches and households) combine together to help secure the extraction of surplus labour;
- political processes are concerned with the ordering of social behaviour and the ownership of property;
- economic processes include commodity exchange, the existence of money (Marx's "universal equivalent") and the dynamic of capital accumulation; and

- natural processes (for example, chemical and biological) add their own unique contributions to whatever social behaviour the worker exhibits.

> No listing of processes can ever be complete . . . each process adds its own unique contribution to creating or causing the existence of the class process . . . its nature is thus caused by their combined effectivity and is itself different from each of theirs (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p23).

*Contradiction, Change and Uneven Development*

Further to the concept of overdetermination are the themes of contradiction, change and uneven development. Dialectically fuelled tension, conflict and change are "the condition[s] of existence for the formulation of the concepts of uneven development" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p24). The fact that "each process in society is understood as the site of the interaction of the influences exerted by all the others" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p24) means that each social outcome, its contradictory relation with all others and its ensuing change is unique. Such an overdetermined interaction of processes over time and space leads inevitably to uneven development. Yet at the same time structurally necessary imperatives influence, in contingent ways, all social outcomes:

> So while it may be acceptable to say, for the purpose of abstract theory, that "capitalists behave like capitalists wherever they are" (Harvey 1982 p424), this will not do for explaining concrete patterns of competition and development (Morgan and Sayer 1988 p27).

> Capital is not born naked later to be clothed in various mediations; rather its very conception is affected by them and usually its subsequent development carries their birthmarks (Morgan and Sayer 1988 p35).

Such mediations include the spatial division of labour, different technologies, different forms of social organisation, geographical variations and different relationships between nation states and their different governments (Morgan and Sayer 1988 p35).

Capitalist development propels uneven development. The capitalist production process combines with inherited and uneven natural and civil developments to unequally develop areas, based upon spatial divisions of labour and resources. This aspect of uneven development is driven by the competitive need to improve labour productivity and thus the rate of profit. Productive systems and their associated infrastructure are constantly being (re)produced; development and change is ceaseless. New opportunities for higher rates of profit are always arising. Such opportunities must eventually be taken if enterprises are to remain competitive (which means accumulating, upgrading, relocating and rationalising at the same, or preferably faster rate as competitors):

> A continually increasing pressure bears down upon firms, forcing them to reduce the labour time involved in commodity production to state–of–the–art levels and to seek new sources of surplus value; in turn it obliges other firms to do the same, on pain of extinction (Morgan and Sayer 1988 p19).

For every region or locality invested in, however, another is declining:

> The created environment is then a mosaic at every stage of development – parts are being built, others are at every stage of devalorisation (where its value gradually decays), and some elements are abandoned remnants of fixed capital now rendered valueless (Duncan and Goodwin 1988 p64).

Implicit in the above quotation is a temporary structured coherence (Harvey 1985a) which, even while working for capital, is in the act of being altered and (re)produced, bringing development and prosperity to some areas and devalorisation to others. Flexible specialisation is the latest outcome of capital's restless jockeying for profit and advantage. This jockeying is played out in space in combination with social and natural particularities. Capital can have no binding association with any specific place; it must be prepared to follow the rate of profit or perish. The same, however, can not be said for individuals:

> The processes of uneven development in capitalism paradoxically lead to a structured coherence in social activities in space and time, and people try to build on these coherences by creating "spatial fixes" of nation, region or locality. The same thing happens through the uneven development of nature and civil society . . . Neither sort of coherence is likely, in the late twentieth century, to be independent

from capitalist development (Duncan and Goodwin 1988 p70).

The application of capital at any given point in time and space is shaped by what has gone before it and, in turn, leaves its own mark. Individuals, however, and the social structures and institutions they build, the attachments they form, the personal investments they make and so on remain behind to deal with the disruptions of capital investment and disinvestment as best they can. Civil society exists to be shaped to the needs of capital (often through the state), but only up to a certain point. Capital must work with the civil structure it finds as civil society, in turn, must bear the turbulence wrought by the investment and disinvestment of capital. The state occupies a crucial juncture between the transient profit oriented requirements of capital and the relatively permanent civil requirements of labour.

The triumvirate of capital, labour and the state constitute the process of uneven development; a process which is uncertain for all three:

> The regulation of the social division of labour [primarily by the state] is therefore not harmonious and smooth but discordant and jerky: the hidden hand is decidedly unsteady . . . it is therefore not unreasonable to talk of an element of anarchy in capitalist competition. So it is not just that workers are vulnerable through being propertyless, but that the firms that they work for have to conduct their business in such a turbulent and uncertain environment (Morgan and Sayer 1988 p17).

*Summary*

Antiessentialist Marxian theory is unique in its critical appraisal of the links between social theorisation and social organisation:

> Marxian theory distinctly understands the relation between alternative theories, that is, their 'relativity', in terms of their historically specific mutual overdetermination with the rest of the processes in the social totality. Thus Marxian theory neither applauds nor bemoans the plurality of theories and their truths. Rather, it presumes these within its continuous drive to specify their changing positions within the social totality generally and in relation to its class processes in particular (Resnick and Wolff 1987 pp34–35).

Marxists consider the importance of theory to be its ability to "orient our investigations and allow us to produce a particular kind of knowledge" (Graham 1990 p60). This has two implications: first, it is best to be explicit about the theory underlying any particular production of knowledge; and, secondly, the conception of knowledge with which we deal is but one possible conception of society. Here, overdetermination is central because it is "when knowledge is viewed as overdetermining and overdetermined by all other social and natural processes [that] it is released from its role of passive reflector" (Graham 1990 p60).

Theoretical concepts are constantly changing. They constitute, and are constituted by, all social and natural processes. Overdetermined processes combine with theory to generate the artefact of knowledge which is fragmented, discursive, partial and contradictory. Antiessentialist Marxian theory recognises the artificial nature of knowledge. Hence, it is in an unparallelled position from which to understand contemporary capitalist society. For Marxists:

> Theory thus provides us – not with the true explanation – but with an opportunity to [understand] the constitution of social existence and . . . the contradictions which that existence creates (Graham 1990 p64).

In order to understand the position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area today, structure, agency, time and space all need to be considered and conceptualised interactively. Overdetermination makes possible the appreciation of the diverse elements that constitute society as they constitute each other. Any social outcome is fundamentally influenced by local, national and global developments ranging from cultural to economic processes (arguing for interrelated and interactive multiple levels of conceptual understanding). The inertia of past practices, processes and configurations combine with all those currently operating to overdetermine the nature of every social eventuality.

There exists vast scope within the capitalist system for the definition and constitution of social groupings as well as for the formation and production of cultural images and practices, both historically and spatially. All are proactive, responsive and interrelated. An expansive diversity is possible within capitalism. In order to make some sense of this complexity an appropriate entry point is needed. In this study,

recognition of the capitalist nature of society is fundamental to the selection of a conceptual point of entry. The "economic process of performing and appropriating surplus labour" (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p26) and the class relations engendered by this capitalist production process is the entry point upon which understanding is based in this study because the topic in this study is situated within the capitalist system.

The above outline illustrates the principal Marxian tenets and developments relevant in this study. The initial use by human geographers of Marxian tenets set within a political economy framework, however, ran into a number of difficulties:

> Marxist geography teetered uncomfortably between the extremes of a pragmatic and anti–speculative historicism (which intrinsically rejected explicitly 'geographical' explanations of history and what many saw as an unacceptable emphasis on consumption and exchange relations versus relations of production); and a neo–Marxist structuralism (which seemed all too easily to breed determinisms, annihilate the politically conscious subject, and summarily to expel the theoretical primacy of historical explanation) (Soja 1989 p55).

The sensitising of political economy to the importance of society and space is covered in the next subsection in this chapter.

### 2.3.2 The Spatial and the Social

In this subsection the aim is to identify some of the principal themes of the sensitisation of Marxian political economy to the difference that society and space make.

Initially it was the work of Harvey (1982, 1985a, 1985b and 1989), Massey (1984 and 1985) and Massey and Meegan (1985) which was responsible for the incorporation of an explicit spatiality within Marxian political economy. The tension inherent in the capitalist production of the built environment was mentioned in Subsection 2.3.1. Harvey develops the concept of relational space in terms of conflict between the synchronous requirements of infrastructural "structured coherence" (Harvey 1985a) and those of dynamic change. Capital's quest to "annihilate space with time" (Marx

1973 in Urry 1987 p439) can only be achieved by creating a facilitatory infrastructure (the role of which is to reduce turnover time) which then becomes a barrier to the further expedition of capital circulation. This situation occurs within different circuits of capital and is an expression of the attempts of various fractions of capital to overcome the tendency to overaccumulate in what Harvey perceives as an inherent state of crisis.

Harvey (1989 pp240–254) documents the "conquest and control" of space. Out of "a sea of social activities in which all manner of other conceptions of space and place – sacred and profane, symbolic, personal, animistic – . . . [came] the actual use of space as universal, homogeneous, objective, and abstract in social practice . . . [consolidated by] private property in land, and the buying and selling of space as a commodity" (Harvey 1989 p254). This "pulverisation and fragmentation . . . of space is always a reorganisation of the framework through which social power is expressed" (Harvey 1989 p255). Space is socially produced and is an intrinsic component of social relations. "The most serious dilemma of all [is] the fact that space can be conquered only through the production of space" (Harvey 1989 p258). This leads us to the notion of "creative destruction" (Harvey 1985a) required by capital in order to produce some spatial 'elbow room' within which to mitigate the tendency to overaccumulate; this elbow room is also found on the fringe of cities. Harvey (1989 p239) sees the interaction of space, time and the capitalist system thus:

> Spatial and temporal practices are never neutral in social affairs. They always express some kind of class or other social content, and are more often than not the focus of intense social struggle. That this is so becomes doubly obvious when we consider the ways in which space and time connect with money, and the way that connection becomes even more tightly organised with the development of capitalism. Time and space both get defined through the organisation of social practices fundamental to commodity production. But the dynamic force of capital accumulation (and overaccumulation), together with conditions of social struggle, renders the relations unstable. As a consequence, nobody quite knows what 'the right time and place for everything' might be. Part of the insecurity which bedevils capitalism as a social formation arises out of this instability in the spatial and temporal principles around which social life might be organised.

Both time and space are socially produced. Socially produced space, however, also feeds back into the ceaseless reorganisation and redefinition of social relations. Massey (1984) addresses the influence of space. Within the context of her work on the spatial division of labour and production, rounds of investment and their layered effect within specific areas and the "uniqueness of place and the constantly evolving and shifting systems of interdependence", Massey (1984 p52) develops a conception of space which moves beyond the passive:

> The fact that processes take place over space, the facts of distance, of closeness, of geographical variation between areas, of the individual character and meaning of specific places and regions – all these are essential to the operation of social processes themselves. Just as there are no purely spatial processes, neither are there any non–spatial processes.

Harvey and Massey's treatment of space is posited within the context of their research interests. "Both of them emphasise the primacy of production . . . [and see the continual] formation and reformation of geographical landscapes as vital moments in the reproduction and transformation of contemporary capitalism" (Gregory 1989 p76). The same can be said of Gottdiener (1988). Specifically spatial themes have been addressed by writers such as Urry (1987), Duncan and Goodwin (1988) and Soja (1989) who deal in greater detail with the way in which "geography matters" socially. Within the framework of capitalist production they seek to "find some credible position between ignoring space and reifying space" (Duncan and Goodwin 1988 p51). (The contribution of the sociological structurationist Anthony Giddens to the appreciation by human geographers of the relationship between time, space, individuals and institutions is acknowledged by Thrift [1983], Warf [1988], Peet and Thrift [1989] and Gregory [1989].)

Urry (1987 pp435–440) asserts that it is people who matter, not geography *per se*:

> The significance of spatial relations depends upon the particular character of the social objects in question. So the spatial relationship can not be limited to some general effect – it only has effect because the social objects in question possess particular characteristics or powers.

Urry argues against an event ontology, emphasising that:

> Empirical events . . . are the product of highly complex interdependent processes, processes which are not simply to be aggregated, but in which there is in effect a synthesis of the respective causal powers of the entities in question. Marx considered it was this synthesis that constituted the concrete, it was 'a synthesis of many definitions, thus representing the unity of diverse aspects' (Urry 1987 p438).

It is the dynamic articulation of social objects, rather than patterned "spatial fetishism" that is important for Urry:

> In short, the social world comprises . . . a number of temporally and spatially interdependent, mutually modifying, four dimensional time–space entities, which constitute a particularly complex 'open system' (Urry 1987 p439).

Duncan and Goodwin (1988 pp51–56) and Smith (1989) further develop this relational conception of space:

> Space can only exist as a relation between objects (such as planets, cities or people), which do have substance. Without these objects, there is no spatial relation – and hence no independent space can exist. Spatial patterns can not, therefore, have independent effects (Duncan and Goodwin 1988 p54).

This relational conception of space is opposed to an absolute conception of space where space exists independently and has its own effects (for an outline of absolute, relative and relational space see Harvey [1973 pp13–14]). From the basis of a contingent conceptualisation of relational space Sayer (1985 p52) conveys the mutually affective nature of social and spatial relations thus:

> Space makes a difference, but only in terms of the particular causal powers and liabilities constituting it. Conversely, what kind of effects are produced by causal mechanisms depends *inter alia* on the form of the conditions in which they are situated.

The current perception of the nature and importance of space is summarised by Soja (1989 pp129–130) thus:

- space is a social product;

- as such, space is both the presupposition and embodiment of social action;
- contemporary spatio–temporal structuring of social life defines how social action and relationship are made concrete;
- this concretisation is fraught with contradiction, struggle and recursion;
- contradictions centre around the spatial duality of product and producer (change begets interrelated change);
- concrete spatiality is a competitive arena, a concept which relates back to Harvey (1982) and the contrary needs of differing fractions of capital and interest groups which strive simultaneously to ossify and reshape the built environment;

### 2.3.3 A Realist Perspective

In this subsection the aim is to outline a realist perspective of Marxian theory. Within human geography, Sayer (1984, 1985a and 1985b) has been most responsible for the incorporation of realism into Marxian political economy and he continues to lead debate on the practice of realism in human geography today (Sayer 1989 and 1991). The basic concern of Sayer has been to clarify the way in which realism brings an ethnographic appreciation to the structural insights of Marxian theory (Sayer 1989). The assertion of the importance of space, culture and the individual for theory is not realism's major contribution, however, for realism involves specific ideas as to how people, places and structurally necessary imperatives intersect. As such, realism adds a vital perspective to the understanding of social outcomes.

A realist ontology and its associated epistemology is implicit in the work of Marx (Jessop 1990 pp162–166). For Marx, the world was made up of contingently realised natural necessities and the domain of concern was that of social relations. Causal powers and liabilities within this domain were conceptualised by Marx as tendencies. A particular outcome of tendential causal mechanisms depended upon specific conditions, contingent interaction between tendencies as well as interrelation among domains. Thus, the social world comprised a complex synthesis of multiple determinations.

The domain of social relations can be conceptualised on three main levels of abstraction. At the most theoretically complex or "concrete in thought" (Marx in Jessop 1990 p163) level exist real causal relations such as the capital–labour relation. At the simplest or "real–concrete" (Marx in Jessop 1990 p163) level exist empirics. In between exist middle level abstractions concerned with actual conditions pertaining to the realisation of causal mechanisms (for example, the specifics of capital circulation or the distribution of profit). It is at these levels that theory and empirics dialectically confront and modify each other in the movement between simple (abstract) chaotic conceptions and complex multiple determinations, the understanding and conveying of which Pudup (1988 p384) likens to "performing ballet on a bed of quicksand". Thus, theory is an open process moving between the abstract and the concrete (in thought) (Jessop 1990 pp162–166).

Marx moves from the simple abstract to the complex concrete (in thought). The one–sided, simple and superficial notion of the evidential and the need to deconstruct this, in concert with theory, is required in order to reconstruct a "complex of diverse determinations" (Jessop 1990 p164). Moreover:

> Abstract one–sided concepts are no less – and no more – capable of referring to real objects than concrete ones. The difference between abstract and concrete concepts is not therefore one of the former being less and the latter being more 'connected' to reality, but concerns how many aspects of a particular object are under consideration. Both have fallible connections: both can claim to refer, in some fashion, however imperfectly, to real objects (Morgan and Sayer 1988 p13).

Between the abstract and the concrete, the artificial nature of any theoretical framework needs to be acknowledged. This was recognised by Marx (1973 in Resnick and Wolff 1987 p27):

> If I were to begin with the population, this would be a chaotic conception of the whole, and I would then, by means of further determination, move analytically towards even more simple concepts . . . until I had arrived at the simplest determination.

Empirical evidence is gained by intervening in the real world. Representation is a mediated presence/absence of the real world which is also influenced by theory and methodology:

> Our knowledge of the real world is never theoretically innocent (Jessop 1990 p163).

Chouinard *et al.* (1984 pp357–358) identify five features which distinguish realism:

- the causal mechanisms which generate empirically observable outcomes are real [not logical] structures, which exist independently of our knowledge of them and of the ability of our science to explain them;
- because it views causal mechanisms as really existing, even though only their effects are observable, the realist view separates its epistemology (the way we develop knowledge) from its ontology (what it regards as existing, or being);
- scientific laws are not empirical regularities, but rather are tendencies. These tendencies are the outcomes of causes, then, but are not observably manifest on all occasions;
- if knowledge is socially constructed, then we can not predict the future because that future will contain our knowledge of it; and
- social structures which cause social activity, being social products, can change.

Realism proceeds by the acknowledgement of the existence of social structures. These influence, and are influenced by, individuals (Lawson and Staeheli 1990 p13). The understanding of social structures centres around their production and change. What are the properties constituting social outcomes which "enable them to produce or suffer particular kinds of change?" (Sayer 1985a p161):

> This process involves 'finding out what produces change, what makes things happen, what allows or forces change' (Sayer 1985a p163).

Realism emphasises empirical research (for example, ethnography) as intrinsic to the theoretical movement between abstract and concrete. The dialectical relation, however, between theory and empirics has not always been actuated:

> Ethnography has always pulled towards contextualising explanations or interpretations, political economy towards law–like, context–independent explanations (Sayer 1989 p 257).

With regard to this, "contextualising and law–seeking approaches should therefore be seen not as competing but as extremes of a continuum ranging across different kinds of object" (Sayer 1989 p259). According to Sayer (1989 p258), theory (in this case the broad doctrines of Marxian theory) concerns necessity:

> Theory can grasp unique as well as repeated events, by demonstrating necessity in the world. Theory is no longer associated with generality in the sense of repeated series of events but with determining the nature of things or structures, discovering which characteristics are necessary consequences of their being those kinds of objects.

Relations are necessary or internal when they are required in order for the outcome being considered to exist:

> But theory can not be expected to anticipate the form of relationships which are contingent (that is, neither necessary nor impossible) (Sayer 1991 p295).

Relations are contingent or external when they are not required in order for the outcome being considered to exist (Urry 1987 pp440–441). Urry (1987 p441) gives the following example of necessary and contingent relations:

> There are *necessary* [tendencies] of the capitalist economy which constrain the possible form taken by the spatial division of labour; but the recent development of these necessary [tendencies] means that it is a relatively *contingent* matter as to where capitalist relations will be found and hence which particular labourers in which particular localities will be employed by which particular capitals . . . It is *necessarily* the case that . . . social practices are structured by the commodity relations generated from the overarching capitalist relations; but the form taken by those practices depends upon various *contingencies* (such as the degree to which precapitalist associations and structures persist, the location and the nature of the housing stock, the struggles by individuals and groups to extend or protect those practices, the relations of gender domination and racial oppression etc) although these in turn may depend upon necessities implied by other structures, for example, patriarchy.

During the 1980s, one focus of geographic debate was locality (Duncan 1986, Urry 1987, Warf 1988, Duncan and Savage 1989, Cooke 1989 and 1990, Savage and Duncan 1990). This focus represents a more fundamental question for human geographers, namely:

> . . . how to conceptualise the study linkages between agents, places, interaction structures, and more general social structures (Lawson and Staeheli 1990 p17).

According to Cox and Mair (1989), Sayer (1989 and 1991) and Massey (1991) what is more important than the "surrogate" (Sayer 1991 p293) of locality, is the "facile alignment" of a number of prevaricative dualisms. These writers are anxious to demonstrate the relational nature (in some cases outright "non sequiturs" [Sayer 1991 p293]) of specious counterpositions prevalent within locality studies. It is in an attempt to escape from the focus upon locality ("merely documenting the many ways to skin a cat" [Sayer 1991 p306]) and to put structurally necessary relations back into affective relation with people and places (and vice versa) that many of the dualisms that make up the language of locality studies are critically examined.

For example, Sayer (1991 p299) states that "the general is no less the province of empirics than is the local". A number of logical deductions follow from this encapsulation:

> Thus, 'local' and 'contingent' in the phrase 'local, contingent factors' are not meant to be construed as synonyms. There is no reason to believe that internal, necessary relations are any less common at this geographical scale than at any other. In consequence, although the move from the abstract to the concrete in thought involves the posing of empirical questions about contingencies, empirical research also involves the discovery and examination of internal relations, and hence can be theory informing (Sayer 1989 p260).

Furthermore:

> As all objects, social or natural, have causal powers and liabilities, causation operates at all scales, including within localities. Some causal mechanisms may be unique or localised (not the same thing); others general [representative] and either small or big. Some causal processes may span large areas; others may operate in small, restricted

> spaces. Consequently, the 'general–causes–and–local–contingent–effects' model may sometimes be appropriate, but realism gives no special privilege to it (Sayer 1991 p300).

Massey (1991a pp270–272) also seeks to put locality studies in their place. The convenient dichotomising of contextual and general (representing, for example, local/descriptive and global/explanatory respectively), with no real attempt to link the two, was never the aim of the focus upon locality:

> One of the aims of locality research has been to understand, not just the interdependencies between localities in the sense of direct links, but the ways in which, in part, the changes going on in them were products of a wider restructuring (Massey 1991a p270).

Clearly, the fact that " 'geography matters' does not just mean 'locality matters' – it has much wider implications, greater claims to make, than this" (Massey 1991a p272).

The position in this study is that spatial contingency effects exist which may or may not contribute to the activation of causal powers of social objects which make up general processes. If general processes are considered to be constituted in various places then it is the understanding of the taking place of social processes in space and time that needs attention. Spatial divisions need to be linked to divisions of labour, state relations and so on in order to understand how spatial variation is socially produced. "Effectively, this amounts to unpacking what the locality concept attempts inadequately to express" (Duncan and Savage 1989 p204).

Confusion surrounding the efficacy of many of the dualisms in locality studies has at least resulted in the further clarification of the realist perspective (Sayer 1989 and 1991). From the theoretical, the understanding of tendential causal mechanisms identifies necessary conditions of existence of phenomena. Natural (not logical) necessity, not regularity or generality, is the goal of theory. From the empirical, capital is always constituted in particular places, within open systems. Thus, contingent must be defined in terms of relations. Contingent means "neither necessary nor impossible" (Sayer 1991 p292); it does not mean either uncaused (in the social world contingent relations are often engineered and exploited) or having no mutual impact. A number of coexisting metaphysical relations may apply to any particular object or

circumstance (for example, unique and interdependent/general and interdependent). "Analysis (as opposed to narrative) [is used to link] the necessary conditions and powers of its chosen structures, abstracting from the particular historical contingencies which brought those conditions into being" (Sayer 1989 p263). "Historical narration without analysis is trivial, historical analysis without narration is incomplete" (Sayer 1989 p265).

Realism posits a dialectical relation between theory and empirics from the standpoint of the double hermeneutic of social science, namely that a "framework about a social reality . . . is already pre–interpreted by its participants" (Jessop 1990 p207). Realist study attempts "to construct theoretically informed (and informative) narratives which make their aetiologies explicit and give appropriate weight to the synchronic or relational and the episodic" (Sayer 1989 p266). Such study does not privilege uniqueness but investigates the "distinction between structures and events, the concept of open systems, the recognition that the reproduction of social structures is a contingent product of human action and that compared to natural structures, social structures are only relatively enduring" (Sayer 1989 p267).

Bhaskar alerts us to the compatibility of Marxism and realism (Pratt 1991 p252). Both proceed from the identification of structures, processes and relations which operate over time and space:

> . . . an epistemological home for Marxist science, with its emphasis on the non–correspondence between theoretical categories and the empirical world they explain and on laws as tendencies rather than empirical regularities, has been found in 'realism' (Chouinard *et al.* 1984 p356).

Marxism is relevant to realism because of Marxism's exegesis of social structures. For Marx, the two major causal mechanisms within capitalism are:

> The class conflict between capital and labour, and the competition between groups within the capitalist class (Chouinard *et al.* 1984 p359).

Thus, "relations between capital and labour remain a fundamental cause of such tendencies as the falling rate of profit and such empirical events as strikes" (Chouinard *et al.* 1984 p361). What is sought is a "theoretical framework which links observable

patterns of behaviour and expressions to social structures through the vital notions of human agency and intentionality" (Lloyd 1986 in Lawson and Staeheli 1991 p232). Marxian theory is helpful here as Marxism "attempts to discover the necessary properties and preconditions of . . . structures, features which will necessarily be generalisable to wherever those structures exist. However, just how widely replicated . . . those features are is contingent" (Sayer 1991 p304). Harvey and Scott (1989) warn against the neglect of theory possible within realism, but especially evident in locality studies. It is pivotal that we "acknowledge how the replicable features of capitalism take concrete forms (for example, different kinds of industry, technology and labour force) often characterised by variety or uniqueness and interdependence and how they are set within larger part–whole relationships" (Sayer 1991 p304):

> We need, then, to keep the theory of the totality of capitalism very much in the foreground of all analysis . . . And that means dealing with basic concepts of class relations, capital accumulation, commodity exchange, money forms, finance capital, state formation and the various manifestations of oppression endemic to capitalism (Harvey and Scott 1989 p223).

Diversity, uniqueness, variety and interdependence are better understood through empirically based realist study. This, however, must be in concert with the structural insights of Marxism. "Our task as critical social scientists", as Lawson and Staeheli (1991 p233) put it, is to understand the role of "human agency and intentionality within the framework of broader (and often unseen) social structures and processes . . . [as well as] to understand how individual agents are constrained and empowered". Marxism and realism both represent first steps on Sayer's (1991) theoretical bridge between structure and agency. They are first steps because, though both acknowledge aspects of the other (for example, Marxism recognises the importance of empirical substantiation, and realism the influence of social structures and processes), each is only tentative in its attempts to incorporate the weak side of its practised area of perception.

Realism brings with it an appreciation of agency, intentionality, necessary and contingent relations and interdependence. This perspective of the unique nature of social objects is complemented by its consideration within the framework of necessary structural imperatives identified by Marxian theory:

> The inchoate swirl of human agency . . . real as it may be, is . . . bounded and shaped by the stubborn logic of capitalism as a whole, and rationally explicable as such (Harvey and Scott 1989 p222).

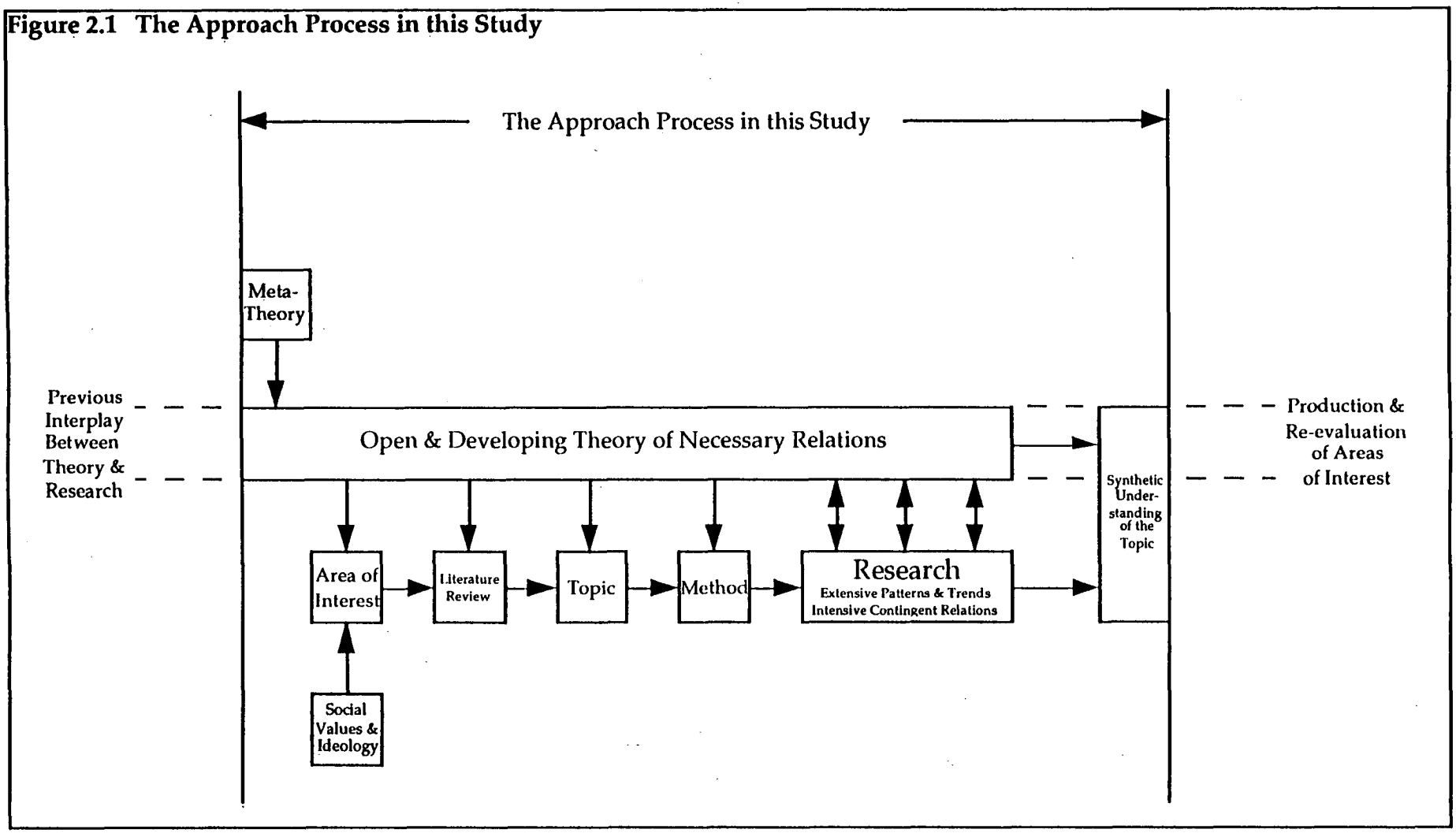
The understanding of the position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area today requires appreciation of both structure and agency. This is best pursued by the use of a realist perspective of Marxian theory set within a broad political economy framework.

## 2.4 THEORY AND RESEARCH

In this section the linking of theory and research is discussed. Discussion is general, leaving the detailing of methodology to Chapter 5. The following outline is based upon the work of Sayer (1984 and 1985a), Massey and Meegan (1985) and Eyles (1988).

Figure 2.1 conceptualises the approach process in this study. This process occurs within a set time frame but is influenced by previous approaches used in previous studies. Regarding this study, the approach used in Bradshaw (1989) established Marxian political economy as a theoretical basis for the development of such areas of interest as housing and state policy. As outlined in Section 2.1, epistemology and ontology influence all approaches. The position in this study is that it is preferable to outline explicitly the way in which understanding of a particular aspect of the interconnected complexity of society is to be produced. Moreover, this manufactured understanding seeks to avoid essentialism by considering both structure and agency; it is also just one possible understanding. Central to the approach in this study is an open and developing theory of necessary relations, particularly the capital–labour relation, property relations and state relations. Arising from such theory is an area of interest which in this study is the relationship between housing provision, low income households, the state and capital within semiurban areas. It is impossible to avoid being influenced by social values and ideology as development of an area of interest occurs within a particular milieu. Social values and ideology influence the development of an area of interest and they flow through the approach process to affect the ensuing development of the approach. Once an area of interest is

**Figure 2.1 The Approach Process in this Study**



established, a literature review can be conducted which makes possible the development of a topic and a methodology for its investigation. To this point, the influence of theory is mostly one way but, with the undertaking of research, theory is open to be developed.

Intensive and extensive research approaches are complementary and both need to be used when investigating a topic. Extensive research is primarily concerned with aggregates and generalisations. Often employed in the initial stages of investigation, extensive research aims to gather basic information indicative of general patterns and trends, to identify directions for research and to understand broad structures and relations. If not used in conjunction with intensive research, however, extensive research raises the problem of statistical fiction (Duncan and Goodwin 1988 p48, 57). The "ecological fallacy" (Sayer and Morgan 1985) of extensive research refers to the constitution of extensive patterns by intensive processes. Intensive research aims to gain insight into the complexity of relationships which influence a decision such as where to purchase a home (Lovering 1989). It is all very well to identify quantitatively significant patterns of formal similarity, but in order to understand why they occur consideration of intensive processes is needed.

Patterns are also the result of structural necessities. In order to understand patterns, therefore, the conceptual combination of a theory of necessary structural relations with an empirical appreciation of contingent processes (which combines intensive and extensive research) is required as both constitute any social pattern or outcome.

Theory is continually present during the research process, influencing and being influenced by research. As research is conducted theory is assessed, verified, challenged and modified. The effect of research upon theory, be it verification or alteration, feeds back into the research being undertaken. For example, initial investigation may reveal new areas of importance and/or the greater relative influence of a particular research stream, say, for instance, the role of the state. This realisation affects theory in two ways. First, it may result in the further development or emphasis of state theory within the general theoretical framework. Secondly, specific research, which has been influenced by theory, may promote the reassessment and modification of that theory. This, in turn, will influence the tenor of proceeding research. Thus, theory and research are in a state of continual mutually modifying

interaction.

Finally, the interaction of theory and research results in the development of a synthetic understanding of the topic which influences the continuing development of theory, generates new areas of interest and results in the re–evaluation of the understanding of previously investigated areas of interest.

The society within which we conduct research is an open system and hence research ought to be open ended. The posing of a question should end in the ramification of that question. This may increase a topic's complexity but understanding will be better for it. The aim is not to explain, prove or predict but to understand. As such, a topic is not viewed as being conveniently closed and thus conducive to explanation. Instead it is hoped to understand the interdependent nature of a topic as well as its unique and contingent realisation of necessary relations. Following the concept of overdetermination, every outcome is both comprehensively constituted as well as being constitutive. The aim is thus to develop an understanding of the way in which a particular topic interweaves with the fabric of society.

## 2.5 SUMMARY

The purpose of the approach in this study is to make possible the non–reductionist investigation of a sociospatial outcome which has developed within the capitalist system. Theory is needed to identify necessary relations and empirical research is needed to detail contingent outcomes. Non–explanatory extensive research identifies broad patterns and intensive research sheds light on the operation of processes in particular cases. Neither theory, extensive research nor intensive research can, on its own, provide an adequate understanding of the Eastern Beaches. Necessary relations, ideological preconceptions, the role of the state and particular household circumstances (such as access to alternative forms of wealth) all contribute to the definition of a household's opportunity–constraint spectrum, with a decision regarding this spectrum also being influenced by variables such as household support networks and individual predilections. This approach to understanding is not easy but it is fundamentally suited to the investigation of the position of low income households within the context of a particular semiurban area today.

# 3.0 A SUMMARY OF A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND AN ASSESSMENT OF OPINIONS AND APPROACHES REGARDING CONTEMPORARY URBAN ISSUES

## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter a summary of a research report (Bradshaw 1992) written to review and assess the literature, opinions and approaches regarding contemporary urban issues is given. The research report is the result of work conducted for this study. Detail, references and discussion underlying the summary in this chapter are given in the research report. The structure in this chapter is: first, to outline contemporary urban trends and issues; and, secondly, to discuss their treatment in the literature and their importance in relation to this study.

## 3.2 HOUSING

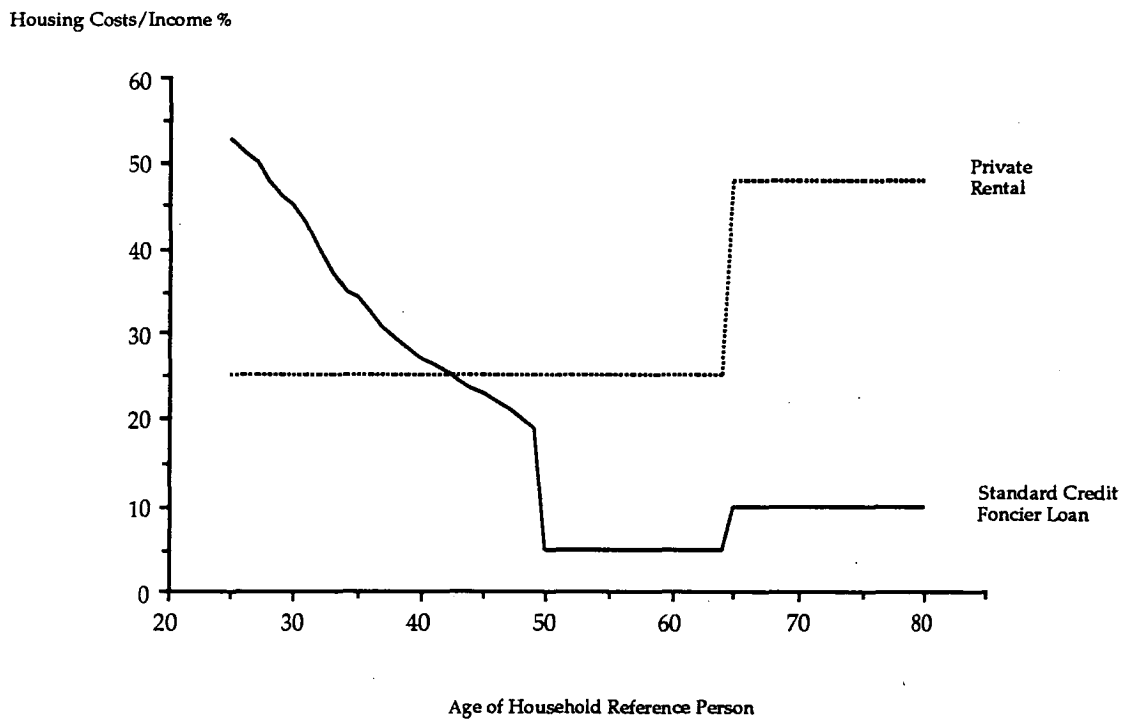
First, discussion of current housing trends and issues needs to consider the following:

- the political construction of today's tenure options;
- the private interests supportive of today's tenure options;
- the post–World War II promotion and state subsidised growth of home ownership;
- the subsequent erosion of both industry based 'long boom' prosperity and the ability of the state to continue the direct subsidy of home ownership (with implications for unemployment, real wages and low income households);
- increases in land (especially) and housing prices as well as interest rates since 1970; and
- a fluctuating but long term increasing housing affordability problem, especially for low income households, since 1970. (Accessibility refers to the ability of households to access the opportunity to purchase a home, for example access to housing finance. Affordability has two meanings: first, it refers specifically to the ability of households to maintain home loan

repayments once purchasing; and, secondly, it refers generally to the ability of non–home owners to afford any form of housing [NHS 1991 Issues Paper 2]. Burke [1987] details some of the problems in defining affordability.)

Today, home ownership in Australia occupies a privileged economic position in comparison to private rental (Figure 3.1). In addition to the rental purchase of public housing under the auspices of the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement (CSHA), the following are the primary means used by the state to assist home owners. First, directly:

**Figure 3.1 Housing Cost Burdens Over Time by Tenure**




Assumptions - interest rate and rental yield (7.5 %) unchanged, average houshold income ($600) increases in line with inflation (5 %) and is halved upon retirement, rental costs and non-interest housing costs also increase in line with inflation, a standard credit foncier loan of $100 000 is taken out with no deposit and no savings are made by rental households.

Source: NHS 1991 Issues Paper 3

- Federal cash subsidies to first home buyers between 1964 and 1990;
- tax deductibility of home loan interest repayments for first home buyers between 1974–1978 and 1982–1983;
- "In their efforts to improve access to housing finance for marginal home owners, the States have developed and implemented a wide and confusing range of mortgage instruments" (Yates and Flood 1989 pvii) including subsidised home loans (interest rate reduced or frozen) and low cost repayment schedules;
- short term mortgage relief available under the CSHA; and
- stamp duty and sundry State taxes on conveyance and ownership are rescheduled or reduced for first home buyers.

Secondly, indirect state assistance includes:

- imputed rent has not been taxed in Australia since the 1920s;
- the capital gains tax introduced in 1985 did not affect the family home;
- for pensioners, the family home was not included in the 1985 introduction of an assets test for pension benefits (which includes discounts on municipal rates); and
- some 10 per cent of existing home loans have an interest rate ceiling of 13.5 per cent as they were taken out prior to the partial deregulation of the financial market in 1986.

The stabilising of home owning and purchasing at approximately 70 per cent since 1961 hides a significant underlying trend: the number of owner/purchasers is declining while the number of outright owners is increasing (Yates 1989). In 1982 outright home ownership stood at 35.6 per cent and owner/purchasing at 32.8 per cent. By 1988 the figures were 41.4 per cent and 28.1 per cent respectively.

A number of interrelated developments have resulted in making it more difficult for low income households to access home ownership. First, real wages have declined over the 1980s, affecting especially single income households. At the same time, due to an increase in female paid employment, the number of dual income households has risen, reflected in an increase in median family gross annual income. Consequently, it is possible for many households, through their dual income status, to pay more for

housing, despite a decline in real wages. Land and housing being worth what households are able to pay, the increased paying capacity of dual income households has been capitalised by the land and housing market into a rise in the price of land and housing. In short, dual income households have bid low (single) income households out of the private land and housing market. Secondly, state assistance to low income households for home purchase has declined over the 1980s. Finally, interest rates have risen over the 1980s, thus accentuating the inability of low income households to access and repay housing finance as well as straining the resources of many low income home purchasers. (Interest rates peaked during the undertaking of research for this study, the present fall in the rate of interest being after the completion of research. A drop in the rate of interest, however, does not alter points one or two.)

Increasingly, low income young family households can only afford a home if they have one, or a combination, of the following in their favour:

- two incomes;
- no dependents;
- willing and able parental assistance (36 per cent of all home purchases since 1986 have been with some form of parental finance); or
- a fortuitous inheritance (estimated at $1500 million per annum in Australia [Burke 1987]).

Many fail to qualify on all counts and thus find it difficult to compete in today's dual income oriented land and housing market. Both income and mortgage conditions affect the ability to take out and repay a home loan. Despite increasing market constraints (imposed by rising land/housing prices and interest rates), flexible lending procedures, promoted by partial financial deregulation in 1986, make it possible for relatively affluent low income households to take out a standard credit foncier loan and buy a home. For example, 25.1 per cent of sole parent single income households were purchasing a home in 1988. Relatively affluent low income households, however, stretch themselves to the financial limit attempting to meet mortgage repayments, especially in times of rising interest rates, on land and housing purchased at inflated prices. For example, of all households in housing stress in 1988, 23.6 per cent were owner/purchasers. Thus, manipulating private lending instruments, which has not succeeded in providing low income households access to home loans, is not an

ideal way of assisting low income households to access housing:

> The wisdom of encouraging [low income households] into home ownership through the private market by either providing mortgage insurance for high risk high ratio loans or providing deposit assistance . . . has been questioned (Yates 1989 p47).

Of considerable importance, therefore, (and often ignored by housing industry lobbyists) is today's absence of state public housing assistance for low income home owners. The focus of public housing has moved away from state subsidised low income home purchase to the rental subsidy of the poor. State loan terms are now much less favourable and the First Home Owners' Scheme has been defunct since 1990. Indirect tax expenditures benefiting existing home owners constitute the bulk of state home ownership assistance. Little is spent on making home ownership more accessible. At the other end of the scale, the publicly housed poor, not before time, occupy a "relatively privileged underprivileged" (Gruen 1988) housing position. Two groups are left out. First, households which fail to qualify for public housing and can not afford home ownership and, secondly, the "underbelly of Australian housing" (National Housing Strategy [NHS] 1991 Issues Paper 2 pp10–15) the homeless (Table 3.1).

Often the only way in which low income households can afford a home is by paying less for housing. Location in poorly serviced semiurban areas, due to lower land and housing prices, appears an attractive proposition. The costs imposed, however, by travelling, renovating, lack of services and so on result in a cost/benefits reappraisal and the search for alternative housing options by many households located in semiurban areas. Alternative housing options, however, often do not exist. Semiurban areas are the end of the home ownership line. If households can not buy in semiurban areas then they will probably not be able to buy at all. That households go without many services, which especially younger families need, in order to purchase a home is testament to the lack of urban housing options as well as to the power and structurally favoured position of the "great Australian dream" of home ownership.

**Table 3.1 Housing Stress* by Tenure, Income Unit Type and Age: Australia 1982 - 1988**

| | 1982 | | 1988 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Proportion of Total Income Units % | Proportion of Income Units in Housing Stress % | Proportion of Total Income Units % | Proportion of Income Units in Housing Stress % |
| **Tenure** | | | | |
| Owner | 35.6 | 5.7 | 41.1 | 3.6 |
| Purchaser | 32.8 | 27.7 | 28.1 | 23.6 |
| Rent-Private | 19.9 | 48.3 | 20.2 | 59.5 |
| Rent-Public | 5 | 4.8 | 5.4 | 5.3 |
| **Income Unit Type** | | | | |
| Couple-No Dependents | 28 | 10.9 | 30.5 | 12 |
| Couple-Dependents | 34.6 | 25 | 34.4 | 18.1 |
| Sole Parents | 4.6 | 12.5 | 5 | 16.9 |
| Singles | 32.8 | 51.6 | 33.1 | 53 |
| **Age of Reference Person** | | | | |
| 15-24 | 9.9 | 20 | 8.3 | 21 |
| 25-34 | 22.2 | 26.5 | 21.9 | 26.4 |
| 35-44 | 19.5 | 17.2 | 21.3 | 17 |
| 45-54 | 15.4 | 11.8 | 15.2 | 12.4 |
| 55-64 | 15.3 | 11.5 | 14.3 | 10.8 |
| 65+ | 17.7 | 13 | 19 | 12.3 |

* 30 per cent of income spent on housing
The category "others" included in calculations but not shown

Source: NHS 1991 Issues Paper 2

## 3.3 URBAN SPATIAL CONFIGURATIONS AND SEMIURBAN DEVELOPMENT

Locational disadvantage is currently on the political agenda, demonstrating a growing government concern with urban issues, one result of which has been the Better Cities Program. Social justice and efficiency objectives, however, especially in a climate of economic rationalism, are difficult to combine. The specifics of meeting social justice objectives at the same time as developing efficient pricing policies are yet to be worked out:

> Insufficient work has been done which takes into account the realities of public policy implementation, to establish exactly how social justice objectives can be achieved with the implementation of efficient pricing policies (Lang 1991 pix).

Low urban densities are, in the main, due to the way in which housing is provided in Australia:

> The approach that we take in Australia to providing affordable housing [is]: a huge land take, relative to the production of new dwellings; sprawling urban development; high energy use; and increasing inaccessibility (Kirwan 1991a p20).

Unserviced semiurban areas offer many low income households their only chance to own a home. To this extent, the semiurban housing option is seen by many households as a blessing. To others, however, it is a source of windfall profits. Relative to the services they forego, semiurban residents are overcharged for land, especially, and housing, thus providing many land owners and developers with unjustifiably large profit margins. Hence, what semiurban areas make possible on one hand (access to the advantages of home ownership) is taken away on the other by high relative costs and locational disadvantages.

## 3.4 URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE PROVISION

Over the next decade approximately 1.2 million extra dwellings will be needed nationally. An estimated 700 000 of these will be built on the outskirts of Australian cities. Infrastructure expenditure by State and local government over the next five years alone will amount to approximately $6 billion (Table 3.2). When the Federal Government contribution of approximately $6 billion is added to this figure, projected funding for infrastructure provision will still fall short of meeting projected requirements by approximately one third. Reduction in the level of infrastructure subsidy by partial cost recovery or, preferably, by abandoning the subsidy of infrastructure altogether by introducing full cost recovery, is widely advocated in government circles, chiefly on the grounds of efficiency. Infrastructure subsidy, however, (or in the case of semiurban areas the lack of infrastructure) is one of the few subsidies remaining to low income households. Cheap or no public infrastructure has "lain at the heart of the policy of providing more and more affordable housing at the periphery" (Kirwan 1990 p83). Establishing a system of cost recovered infrastructure provision which results in an increase in land and house prices (thus excluding more low income households from urban home ownership) accentuates established structural land and housing market inequities as well as contributes to urban sprawl and housing pressure in semiurban areas. Much work needs to be done relating to cost recovery as it affects tenure, different socioeconomic groups (especially low income households), the land and housing market, different locations and differing infrastructure levels, needs and wants. It is unrealistic to expect the unserviced semiurban housing option to disappear if the reasons behind its production and use are not addressed. On the one hand, the land, housing and finance market has an established and preferred profit oriented form of housing provision which underlies urban and semiurban development. On the other hand, many semiurban households either do not want or can not afford urban infrastructure. These households will keep moving one step ahead of water and sewage unless their needs and wants are addressed. This has implications for the land and housing market's structure of housing provision.

**Table 3.2 Estimated Physical and Social Infrastructure Costs Per Lot: NSW 1990**

| | Cost Per Lot ($) |
|---|---|
| **Physical** | |
| Water/Sewage/Drains | 7000 |
| Roads (4 lane) | 15000 |
| Public Transport | 2000 |
| Street light/Underground Elect | 1370 |
| Local Govt Charges and Community Services | 7000 |
| Telecom | 2000 |
| Total | $36000 |
| **Social** | |
| Education (Prim and Second) | 8000 |
| General Community Services | 330 |
| Health | 6500 |
| Police, Sport, Ambulance, Fire, Technical Education, Library etc | 1000 |
| Total | $18800 |
| **Combined Total** | $54800 |

Source: NSW Department of Environment and Planning, Pers. Comm., October 1990

Households locate in semiurban areas for many reasons, chief of which is affordable housing. The tenure biased nature of land and housing provision frames the context of many households' rationale behind buying an unserviced semiurban home (due to the price of urban housing being out of their income range). The nature of inequities within the land and housing market need to be dealt with before the effects of fully cost recovered infrastructure provision upon low income housing options can be assessed. Concern for equitable access to housing should precede concern for equitable access to infrastructure.

## 3.5 THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT AND URBAN SPATIAL CONFIGURATIONS

The key phrase in urban environmental management is "ecologically sustainable development". According to the Prime Minister and Cabinet this means:

> using, conserving and enhancing the communities' resources so that ecological processes, on which life depends, are maintained, and the total quality of life, now and in the future, can be increased (Haddad 1990 p91).

It is estimated that greenhouse gas emissions, if unchecked, will result in a mean global temperature increase of 3 degrees Celsius and a 65 centimetre rise in sea level by 2100. Of the greenhouse gases, $CO_2$ is the most significant with Australia being responsible for approximately 1 per cent of global greenhouse gas emissions. Petroleum accounts for approximately 33 per cent of Australia's greenhouse gas emissions with transport by road comprising approximately 81 per cent of petroleum based emissions. Domestic transport accounts for approximately 26 per cent of $CO_2$ and approximately 14 per cent of total greenhouse gas emissions in Australia. On average, for every 1 litre of petroleum, a vehicle releases 1.5 kgs of $CO_2$ into the atmosphere; every 10 kilometres, 1 litre of petroleum is used. Modes of travel and commuting distances, therefore, are important. Australian cities are of low density. They are characterised by "tidal flows" of commuters filling the CBD during the day and returning to the suburbs at night. High levels of car ownership, large commuting distances, low vehicle occupancy rates (120 persons for every 100 vehicles) and low public transport usage maximise finite fossil fuel depletion and thus $CO_2$ emissions in Australia.

In short, trip distances need to be shortened and modes of travel need to be changed. Cities need to be oriented more towards people and public transport and less towards the private motor vehicle. Current forms of land and housing consumption need to be redefined in order to achieve a more compact and easily publicly serviced urban form:

> Overconsumption of space is not only socially inconvenient, but it . . . also creates direct threats to the environment (Bieda 1991 p7).

Furthermore, these goals must be pursued equitably. This should involve understanding and addressing currently disadvantaged households (in terms of income, housing and location), instead of simply working within given structural inequities.

## 3.6 URBAN CONSOLIDATION: BY WAY OF LINKING CONTEMPORARY URBAN ISSUES

Urban consolidation is put forward in many contexts as something of a cure–all. Urban consolidation usually involves some increase in population or dwelling density in established urban areas. Medium density housing is often used to infill available land within the extent of physical and social infrastructure services.

> [Urban consolidation] conserves land and allows for continued population growth, makes better use of existing and often underutilised communications facilities, provides better accessibility to work, communicational and recreational facilities, increases the viability of public transport, decreases pressure on the road network and lessens the incidence of water and air pollution (Newman and Kenworthy 1991 p8).

Other cited benefits of urban consolidation include savings in infrastructure provision, increasing dwelling diversity and slowing urban sprawl. Little conclusive data, however, underpin urban consolidation's common sense appeal; cost savings are debatable and affordable housing does not appear to be promoted by urban consolidation. Moreover, even if urban consolidation was fully implemented it would still only provide between 20 per cent and 30 per cent of new dwellings required per annum.

Urban consolidation links many current urban trends and issues such as demographic trends, trends in accessibility to and affordability of housing, urban sprawl, semiurban development, locational disadvantage, infrastructure provision, environmental concerns and social justice. One positive aspect of urban consolidation is that it alerts us to the interrelated nature of these issues. This, however, is also where urban consolidation fails as, while it is considered in a number of contexts, its application is often purely financially motivated (both publicly and privately) and fails to consider

cross–issue implications. No issue or policy should be addressed in isolation. Both the influences upon and impacts of particular urban issues need to be understood if outcomes are to be changed in the ways and contexts intended. It is simplistic to deal with a problem in such a way that it appears in another guise or shifts to another place. Issues must be understood and acted upon in relation not isolation.

Action, however, needs to go deeper than this. Just as meaningful change is impossible without cross–issue consideration, neither is change possible without addressing fundamental social structures. Regarding this study, such structures include the profit oriented operation of the land and housing market, tenure bias in favour of home ownership, the ideology of home ownership and the commodification of land and property. For example, land has no intrinsic monetary value. Its delimitation and commodification are socially produced. Land in our society is parcelled, valued and exchanged for profit. Its treatment in this way is inequitable, benefiting some at the expense of others. The ways in which advantages and disadvantages are distributed at each stage of urban development must be understood if the losers in this process are to be identified and their situation addressed.

## 3.7 THE TREATMENT OF URBAN ISSUES IN THE LITERATURE

On one level, the NHS is today reiterating the broad based importance of housing. On another level, however, the NHS is concerned with workable policy options. State intervention will need to be increased in order to assist home purchasers and private renters as well as to increase the flexibility of existing tenure arrangements. These requirements will be difficult to meet given the current public climate of financial restraint. Thus, the NHS pragmatically avoids examining the merits of alternative tenures. Many housing commentators agree, however, that public housing is the most effective way of providing access to affordable housing for low income households. (For example, in the NHS's own series of papers, Cass [NHS 1991 Discussion Paper] advocates establishing public housing as a viable housing alternative in Australia.) Currently, however, this eventuality is unrealistic. The NHS's hands are tied. It does not have *carte blanche* to examine changes to such fundamental aspects of housing provision as the advantaged position of home ownership and the profit oriented operation of the land and housing market. The NHS is well researched, perceptive

and innovative in its practical recommendations. Limits to its enquiry, however, mean that it can do little more than manipulate the margins of established dispensations.

The options being discussed in the literature and in government regarding the development of a more environmentally sensitive urban form are both limited and unrealistic. They are limited because they are based upon an unstated theoretical position which only makes possible the consideration of a limited number of options. This implicit theoretical position is promulgated generally and rhetorically and is fundamentally uncritical. Current city form is a result of the operation of a highly political process centering around the production of the built environment. Speculation, windfall profits and inequities already exist in capitalist society; indeed, they underpin the production of the built environment. Current options do not address causal processes which remain, at base, both unchanged and the root of the problem. The production of the built environment needs to be understood before it can be addressed. Specious common sense solutions put forward in the literature and in government are unrealistic because, though they may identify general ideals, they do not address the specifics of fundamental causal processes. Neither are they practical because they do not acknowledge the current social, economic, political and spatial production of the built environment. For example, the driving concern behind cost recovery is the need to reduce public sector debt; in other words, economic rationalism. As an extension of this concern, as well as in keeping with the principle of social justice, some equity considerations have been cursorily mooted. No substantive research, however, has been conducted as to how proposed cost recovery measures will affect established inequities across income groups, areas and generations and examination of existing structural inequities in the land and housing market is not on the reform agenda. In short, direct concern is with economic rationalism, assurances to consider the equity implications of cost recovery being window dressing.

What is needed is a theory of the built environment's production to inform an understanding of the sociospatial framework within which the land and housing market and individuals operate. Without such a theoretically informed understanding of the built environment, fundamental critical analysis of outcomes is not possible. To ignore critical theory is to promote implicit complicity of the established capitalist development process and, as such, rhetorically idealise a limited number of ends which are bankrupt of the means with which to address pressing

urban issues. The current economic rationalisation of government services in the face of policy objectives implying increased state participation in urban policy and development is an example of the incongruity of hollow and rhetorical policy as opposed to social, economic and political reality.

## 3.8 SUMMARY

The above issues are all of direct importance to the position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area today. Also of importance is the difference between the way in which these issues are treated in the literature and the way in which they are treated in this study. In short, there exists a major difference between popular perceptions and descriptions of space, the public management of space and 'mainstream' academic treatment of space as opposed to the use of space in capitalist society and a relational conception of space as being an integral component of the sociospatial dialectic. Space is popularly encountered as property and distance; in other words, absolute or relative space. The state attempts to manage the co–ordination of relative space but is undermined by private appropriation and exclusive use rights made possible by the packaging of space as a commodity, namely property. 'Mainstream' academic treatment of space, like the state, ignores both the capitalist nature of space (property relations) and the relational quality of space, dealing instead with space as an absolute entity with generalisable spatial laws which can be modelled, thus simplifying and mystifying space. A critical theory of capitalist society, which treats space as a capitalist product in dynamic and dialectic relation with social entities which also have spatial expression, is needed if the issues in this chapter are to be meaningfully considered in relation to the topic outlined in Chapter 1 and the approach outlined in Chapter 2.

# 4.0 BETWEEN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY AND THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF HOBART

In this chapter the goal is to outline the relationship between four spatial scales, namely the global, the Australian, the Tasmanian and the Hobart scale. The aims in this chapter are: first, to set out the main characteristics of the global economy for capital and labour; secondly, to discuss the position of Australia within the global economy; thirdly, to outline Tasmania's unique position within both the Australian Federation and the global economy; and, finally, to summarise the ways in which Tasmania's position has influenced the development of Hobart's current spatial configuration, focussing on the Eastern Beaches.

## 4.1 THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

In this section international developments regarding both capital and labour are outlined (Crough and Wheelwright 1982, Gottdiener 1988, David and Wheelwright 1989, Smith and Feagin 1989, Harvey 1989 and Bramble and Fieldes 1990).

### 4.1.1 Capital

With the transition from Fordist–Keynesianism (Harvey 1989 pp125–140), phrases such as "the new corporate world economic order" (Crough and Wheelwright 1982) are used to describe global trends in the application of capital since 1970. After 1970, the accumulation of capital became possible on a global scale due to the internationalisation of the banking system, the development of a global finance market and the pricing of products on a global scale. These developments were made possible by technology driven time–space compression. Time and space were compressed to the point where money could move around the world in a matter of microseconds, and factors of production and commodities from country to country in a matter of hours. A spate of mergers and takeovers during the late 1980s, the impetus for which was fierce competition, furthered the concentration of investment capital into fewer hands based in fewer places. (Accumulation and growth are imperative to ward off

corporate predators; "accumulate or be accumulated" [Badcock 1984 p65]). Multinational corporations located different parts of their production process in different places so as to minimise costs at each stage of production. This resulted in the peripheral, menial and 'dirty' industrialisation of less developed countries as part of the 'global assembly line'. In short, fewer and fewer multinational corporations exploited Third World resources, labour markets and regulatory laxity to produce commodities to be sold on the developed world market. Large mobile multinational corporations searched out cheap labour to be used in a production process which could integrate phases of production and commodity markets across a number of countries.

Aspects of this "peripheral Fordism" provide the present context for the development of a new set of developments labelled alternatively post–Fordism (Piore and Sabel 1984) or considered to be characteristic of a new regime of flexible accumulation (Harvey 1989). Developments which distinguish this transition for capital include: changes from mass to differentiated markets; changes from mass to batch production; accelerated product innovation; increased outsourcing and contracting; and an increase in horizontal corporate communications (Bramble and Fieldes 1990 pp3–8). Of most relevance to this study, however, are the effects of peripheral Fordism upon the local state.

State involvement in the "permanent war economy" (Gottdiener 1988 p212) increased significantly after World War II. State assistance in the provision of infrastructure reduces capital's stake in a particular region, thereby contributing to capital's mobility. While the state's main objective has been to co–operate with capital in economic restructuring, the state has also intervened to mediate between capital and labour. The ability of the state to control inflation, interest rates and unemployment is compromised by the permeation of the global economy down to the local state level. Swings in investment in the currency of a country or the regrading of a State's credit rating can throw the best laid policies of governments awry. Similarly, decisions by multinational corporations regarding purchasing or production can signal the prospering or perishing of a given region. Such decisions are often made well removed from their place of impact as well as being beyond the influence of the sphere of government affected.

### 4.1.2 Labour

As with capital, broad 'post–Fordist' developments also affect labour. These include: the flexible specialisation of the labour force; involvement of labour in consensus management and codetermination; enterprise bargaining; regional diversification and the fragmentation of labour markets (Bramble and Fieldes 1990 pp3–8). Again, however, aspects of peripheral Fordism provide the context within which these new developments for labour are taking place and it is these aspects which are of particular relevance to this study.

Phrases such as "the new international division of labour" (for an explanation of the origin of this phrase see Smith and Feagin 1989 p4) are used to describe developments in the global labour market since 1970. Though labour was also made more mobile by technological developments, its propensity to put down roots, form attachments and contribute to continuing cultural and civil formations often made it easier to bring production to labour. Labour's relative immobility, however, pitted local labour force against local labour force, undermining the organised power of labour. Competing local labour forces could be vastly socially, economically, politically and spatially removed from one another; "localities vie[d] for the right to be manipulated" (Gottdiener 1988 p223). Mobile capital was the major beneficiary of the new international division of labour, ignoring or deserting one place in favour of another which, once captured, strove to maintain its competitive advantage. "Wage differentials [became] the key comparative advantage in foreign trade" (Crough and Wheelwright 1982 p32) for "bureaucratic, multiproduct, multiplant, multinational corporations with ownership institutionalised in shareholding arrangements, in which administration [was] separated from industrial work by thousands of miles" (Gottdiener 1988 p201).

Thus, "labour has now become a world commodity" (David and Wheelwright 1989 p5). The portrayal, however, of capital as being mobile and labour as being relatively immobile requires qualification. For example, there are both skilled and unskilled sections of the global labour market which are highly mobile and, on the other hand, capital's "repertoire of restructuring" (Lovering 1989 p216) varies between corporations and is limited to certain options in particular places influenced by the

imperatives of competition and accumulation. States, however, are relatively fixed in space, as is the bulk of their constituent labour force. This immobility defines opportunity for most states as being that which knocks, whereas the global opportunities for peripatetic capital, involving other states and other labour forces in other places, exist as both bargaining chips and/or viable options; capital usually holds all the cards.

## 4.2 AUSTRALIA'S POSITION IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

In this section Australia's position in the global economy is outlined. There are four foci in this section: first, trends in the structure of gross domestic product (GDP) in Australia; secondly, trends in employment by industry in Australia; thirdly, trends in Australia's foreign debt; and, finally, trends in the level of foreign investment in Australia. The structure in this section is briefly to set out these four foci and then to summarise Australia's position in the global economy together with some of the implications of this position.

> During the 1980s, the 'long boom' in the Australian economy faded to a whimper. The effects of structural changes in the world economy, the internationalisation of production, trade by multinational firms and the deregulation of capital markets filtered through to Australia. Regions and cities competed with each other as sites of production and sites of consumerism, but increasingly investment decisions were vested in authorities outside Australia. Hence, state and federal governments gradually lost their fiscal and regulatory powers (Winchester 1991 p112).

The share of manufacturing in GDP in Australia since 1965 has declined (Table 4.1). This trend is evident in Australia's employment by industry. Percentage change in employment by industry between 1979 and 1989 as well as employment by industry for 1989 is given in Table 4.2. Table 4.3 gives the increase in foreign debt for Australia between 1977 and 1989 in both net figures and as a net percentage of GDP. The growth in the finance, property and business services industry is reflected in the growth in Australia's level of foreign investment. Level of foreign investment is difficult to ascertain but David and Wheelwright (1989) state that between 1983/84 and 1986/87 foreign investment more than doubled to $17 billion per annum:

**Table 4.1 Share of Manufacturing in GDP: Selected Countries 1965-1985 (%)**

| | 1965 | 1985 | 1965-1985 (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| USA | 29 | 20 | -31 |
| UK | 30 | 22 | -27 |
| France | 29 | 25 | -14 |
| Germany | 40 | 31 | -22 |
| Australia | 28 | 17 | -39 |
| Japan | 32 | 30 | -6 |
| Korea | 19 | 28 | 47 |
| Hong Kong | 24 | 24 | 0 |
| Taiwan | 20 | 36 (1984) | 80 |
| Singapore | 15 | 24 | 60 |
| Malaysia | 9 | 19 (1983) | 111 |
| Indonesia | 8 | 14 | 75 |

Source: David and Wheelwright (1989)

**Table 4.2 Employment by Industry in Australia: Percentage Change 1979 - 1989 (%) and Proportion 1989 (%)**

| | 1979-1989 | 1989 |
|---|---|---|
| Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting | -19.7 | 5.3 |
| Mining | 7.6 | 1.4 |
| Manufacturing | -20.7 | 16 |
| Electricity, Gas and Water | -25 | 1.5 |
| Construction | 1.3 | 7.8 |
| Wholesale and Retail Trade | 2.4 | 20.8 |
| Transport and Storage | -7 | 5.3 |
| Communication | -14.2 | 1.8 |
| Finance, Property and Business Services | 41.2 | 11.3 |
| Public Administration and Defence | -6.6 | 4.2 |
| Community Services | 12.8 | 17.6 |
| Recreation, Personal and Other Services | 18 | 7.2 |

Source: ABS Catalogue No. 6101.0 (1989)

Table 4.3 Increase in Net Australian Debt 1977-1989

| | Net Debt | % of Net Debt to GDP |
|---|---|---|
| | $ Billion | % |
| 1977 | 3.9 | 4.4 |
| 1980 | 6.9 | 5.7 |
| 1981 | 8.5 | 6.1 |
| 1982 | 16.4 | 10.5 |
| 1983 | 23 | 13.5 |
| 1984 | 29.5 | 15.5 |
| 1985 | 50.3 | 23.8 |
| 1986 | 74.2 | 31.3 |
| 1987 | 82.1 | 31.6 |
| 1988 | 93.3 | 31.9 |
| 1989 (March Quarter) | 103.2 | 31.7 |

Source: David and Wheelwright (1989)

The repatriation of profits is now almost half as much again as the payment of interest on the foreign debt, so that Australia has a double burden to bear (David and Wheelwright 1989 pp106–107).

Australia's post–World War II industry based prosperity has been steadily declining since 1965. Manufacturing and resources industries in Australia today are, with a few exceptions, peripheral in nature. Raw materials and produce are exported to service the 'downstream' production requirements of foreign companies in foreign countries. Manufacturing is assembly not production oriented. Manufacturing and resources industries are increasingly automated and labour shedding. Filling the gap left by manufacturing and resources industries is the tourist industry, the finance, property and business services industry and community services. These non-productive industries are based upon the servicing of tourists and the selling and administering of Australia. They rely upon capricious foreign interest and relatively static domestic demand.

Approximately half of Australia's foreign debt is owed by the private sector. Between 1981 and 1988 foreign debt attributable to financial enterprises rose by approximately 15 times, while for banks it rose by 23 times. The other half of foreign debt is owed by the public sector which has run up debt in an effort to maintain the high standard of

living to which Australians are accustomed. The main implication of the decline in the importance of production industries, the increase in the importance of service industries and the increase in levels of foreign debt and investment in Australia is that the balance of payments and runaway current accounts deficits have become the government's overriding concerns:

> Micro–economic policies ultimately driven by the narrow focus on debt and the balance of payments could lead to further marginalisation of people and places which have already borne an unequal share of the costs of economic restructuring during the 1980s (Fagan 1991 p104).

The erosion of Australia's production base has resulted in a service sector substitution, reliant upon whimsical foreign interest, which has abetted the growth and maintenance of foreign debt to the point where debt has become a perennial problem. A high level of foreign debt reduces the effect of government policy:

> Significant shares of Australia's exports and imports are now determined largely by the global production and marketing strategies of transnational corporations, especially in the Asia–Pacific region. As such, they have become decreasingly likely to be influenced strongly by government policy seeking to enhance or build 'competitiveness' (Fagan 1991 p103).

A high level of foreign debt also diverts attention and resources away from social issues towards the management of impersonal economic measures, imbues government decision making with an element of desperation and makes Australia highly vulnerable to an international economic downturn. Australia is caught in a debt trap and "we are selling off the farm to pay for the mortgage" (McEwen in Crough and Wheelwright 1982 p4).

## 4.3 TASMANIA AS BOTH A STATE OF AUSTRALIA AND A PART OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

In this section the unique position of Tasmania within both the Australian Federation and the global economy is outlined. Tasmania is not simply Australia in miniature, though more than an element of Australia's position in the global economy is evident in Tasmania. In many respects, Tasmania is in a worse position than Australia within the global economy.

The structure in this section is: first, to give some basic statistics concerning Tasmania; secondly, to set out the two main implications of these statistics, namely a reliance upon Federal funding and a reliance upon external markets; thirdly, to summarise the principal outcomes of these two characteristics; and, finally, to discuss some of the recent trends in these outcomes in Tasmania.

Tasmania is an island with a population of approximately 456 700 (June 1990). As a proportion of the Australian population, Tasmania's population has fallen from 3.05 per cent in 1971 to 2.67 per cent in 1990 (ABS Social Report Tasmania 1991). There are two main implications of Tasmania's isolation and relatively small population. First, Tasmania is reliant upon a fiscally equalised proportion of Commonwealth revenue from the Commonwealth Grants Commission. The approximately 4 per cent of Commonwealth taxation revenue is vital to public employment and outlays in Tasmania. Tasmania's employment in community services is approximately 55 per cent higher than that for the Australian average as there is a shortage of private investment in physical capital in Tasmania (Table 4.4). This means that public sector investment and employment is needed to fill the gap left by the underdeveloped private sector in Tasmania. Consequently, any reduction in Commonwealth Grants Commission allocations to Tasmania, as has been occurring since 1987/88, has a resounding effect upon economic activity (Table 4.5 and Table 4.6). Between 1984/85 and 1988/89 Tasmania experienced an approximately 26 per cent reduction in Federal grants and borrowings. This reflects the trend in the 1980s for all spheres of government to reduce capital outlays due to internationalisation, industrial restructuring, debt servicing and economic rationalism. Figure 4.1 shows the decline in capital outlays by sphere of government between 1968 and 1989.

**Table 4.4 Employment by Industry: Tasmania 1990 (%)**

| | 1990 |
|---|---|
| Mining | 1.9 |
| Manufacturing | 16.8 |
| Electricity, Gas and Water, Construction | 6.2 |
| Wholesale and Retail Trade | 17.7 |
| Transport and Storage | 3.8 |
| Communication | 2 |
| Finance, Property and Business services | 9.3 |
| Banking | 2.2 |
| Non-Bank Finance Investment and Insurance | 2.1 |
| Property and Business Services | 4.9 |
| Public Administration and Defence | 6.6 |
| Community Services | 27.3 |
| Health | 11.3 |
| Education, Museum and Library Services | 11.5 |
| Welfare and Other Community Services | 4.5 |
| Recreation, Personal and Other Services | 7.9 |

Source: ABS Social Report Tasmania 1991

**Table 4.5 Commonwealth Payments to Tasmania 1980/81-1988/89 (Constant 1980/81 Prices $m)**

| | Total Payments |
|---|---|
| 1980/81 | 579.8 |
| 1981/82 | 564.6 |
| 1982/83 | 644.1 |
| 1983/84 | 648.3 |
| 1984/85 | 656.7 |
| 1985/86 | 602.2 |
| 1986/87 | 557.4 |
| 1987/88 | 515.4 |
| 1988/89 | 481.6 |

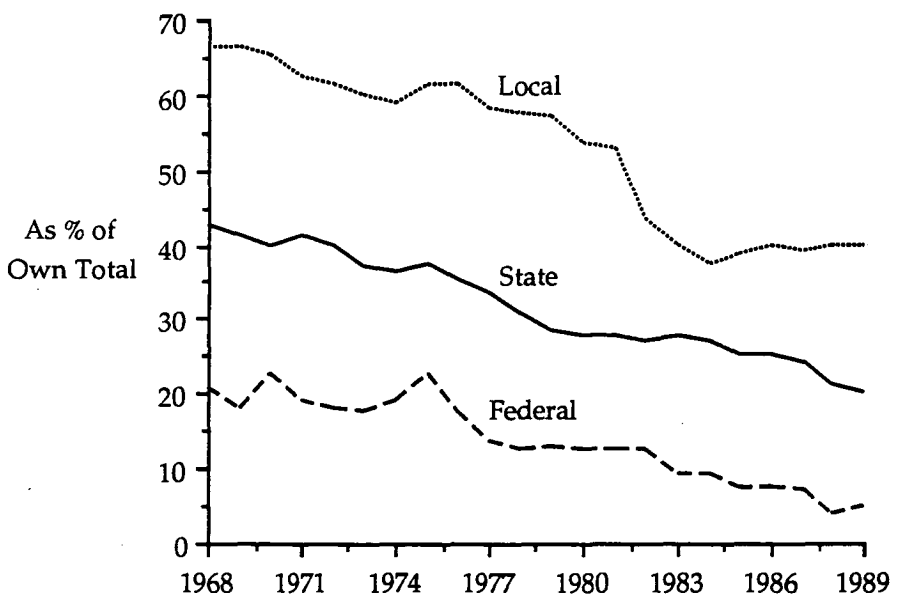
Source: Felmingham and Rutherford (1989)

Table 4.6 Commonwealth Programs for Tasmania 1988/89 and Change Since 1983/84: (Constant 1980/81 Prices $m)

| | 1988/89 | Per Cent Change 1983/84-1988/89 |
|---|---|---|
| **General Purpose Payments** | **264** | **-15.2** |
| **Specific Purpose Payments** | **198.6** | **-23** |
| Health | 47.2 | -5.6 |
| Higher/Tech Education | 39.4 | -5.1 |
| School Programs | 24.5 | -1.6 |
| Housing Agreement Funds | 13.5 | -27.8 |
| Roads Programs | 24.5 | -31.9 |
| South West Tasmania Comp. | 19.2 | -60.3 |
| Employment Programs | 0.1 | -98.7 |
| Other | 30.2 | -1.3 |
| **Loan Council Programs** | **124.2** | **-43** |
| Advances | 15.2 | -71.2 |
| Grants | 15.2 | -42.4 |
| Borrowings by Authorities | 93.8 | -32.4 |
| **Total** | **586.8** | **-25.5** |

Source: Felmingham and Rutherford (1989)

Figure 4.1 Shift in Capital Outlays by Sphere of Government 1968 - 1989




Source: Lang (1991)

Secondly, the realisation of scale economies is difficult due to Tasmania's small 'domestic' market. As a result the bulk of Tasmania's produce has to be sold elsewhere. Neither can Tasmania provide for all its 'domestic' goods and services requirements. Thus, Tasmania is a relatively open economy relying upon external markets for the export of predominantly low value added agricultural produce (agricultural produce accounts for approximately 90 per cent of exports) and the import of mostly high value added 'domestic' requirements. Consequently, Tasmania is exposed to the vagaries of foreign competition and the setting of prices on the international commodities market.

Companies which control Tasmania's resources industries are often not Tasmanian. Either directly through ownership or indirectly through the purchasing of produce, non–locally based companies dictate both the nature of operations and the price paid for products; Tasmania's is a branch plant economy. Companies employing hundreds of people in Tasmania's relatively small labour market (often the majority of people in a particular area) possess considerable bargaining power over electorally conscious Tasmanian political parties. Not only are decisions and the destination of profits removed from Tasmania but the truncated structure of primary production dampens the multiplier effect of an all–stages production process. For example, the business services found around the head offices of major companies are not evident in Tasmania as head offices are located elsewhere. In short, control over Tasmania's destiny lies, to a significant extent, outside of Tasmania. Commonwealth control of the purse strings, the setting of commodity prices on the international market and 'foreign' company control of operations and profits as well as the virtual dictation of royalties to be paid to the Tasmanian Government for resources, leaves Tasmania with little influence over what it spends, what it gets for what resources and where the money goes.

Tasmania is a small peripheral open economy in relative decline. Post–World War II prosperity, founded on hydroindustrialisation, has disappeared with the industries which were based upon the comparative cost advantages of hydro electricity. There are few options for further dam construction and industries which remain in Tasmania have been restructured so as to employ less but produce more. For example, between 1970 and 1988 Tasmania's forest and mining industries shed more that 4000 jobs. Over the same period mining production doubled and the volume of wood extracted

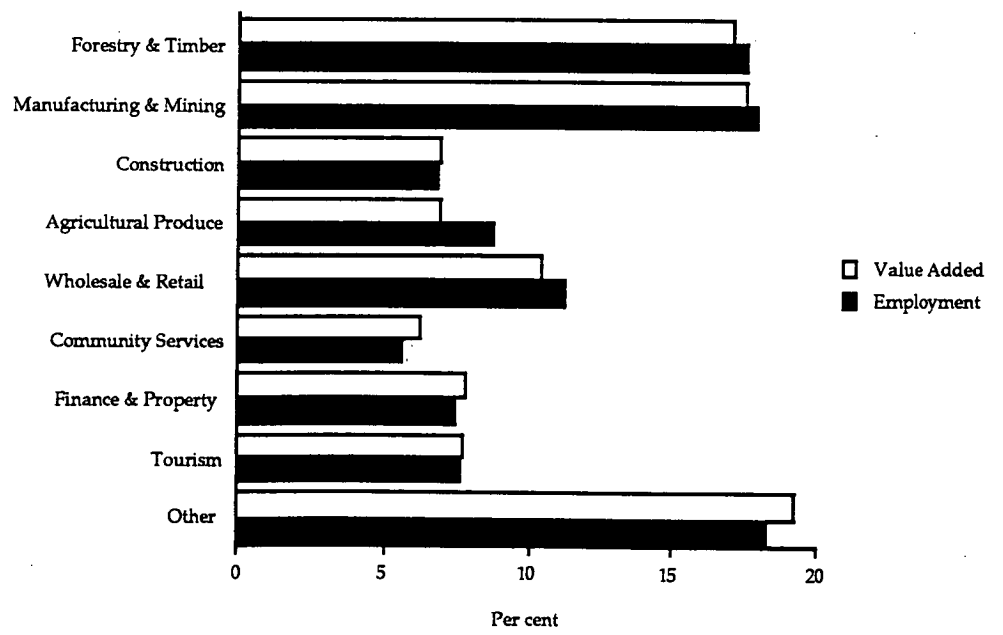
trebled (Tasque 1990). Increased environmental awareness further complicates the development of a clear new direction for Tasmania.

The following points exemplify Tasmania's position:

- average weekly household income is lower than for the rest of Australia;
- Tasmania's higher unemployment rate relative to Australia is increasing;
- industrial growth rate for Tasmania lags behind that for Australia; and
- what talent is nurtured in Tasmania leaves for greener pastures upon graduating from tertiary institutions.

Figure 4.2 gives industry contributions to gross State product and employment for 1987. The resources and services industries are of chief importance in Tasmania. Within the private sector, manufacturing, mining and construction have declined in importance over the 1980s. The public sector has also been forced to reduce employment and outlays due to Commonwealth funding cuts and the imposition of global borrowing limits (which is testament to the Commonwealth's control over the States as well as to the international availability of investment capital). The appearance that the private sector has met the shortfall in public sector employment is

**Figure 4.2 Industry Contributions to Gross State Product and Employment 1987**




Source: Felmingham and Rutherford 1989

misleading, the increase in private sector employment being due predominantly to part–time female paid employment. Thus, demand on public sector community services, already high in Tasmania, is set to increase further, due to poor public and private sector prospects, at the same time as Commonwealth induced public sector cuts undermine the ability of the State Government to maintain existing services.

As is the case for Australia, Tasmania's debt has been increasing over the 1980s. Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 outline Tasmanian public sector debt. The public sector comprises the bulk of Tasmania's debt with statutory authorities being most responsible for the increase in debt over the 1980s. Debt servicing as a proportion of the Tasmanian State budget has increased over the 1980s and, on top of Commonwealth funding cuts, further reduces public sector outlays.

**Table 4.7 Tasmanian Public Sector Debt 1981-1988: (Constant 1980/81 Prices $m)**

| | State Debt | Other Statutory Authority Debt | Total Debt |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1981 | 1020.8 | 535 | 1555.8 |
| 1982 | 974.2 | 559 | 1533.2 |
| 1983 | 914.9 | 679 | 1593.9 |
| 1984 | 888.8 | 758 | 1631.8 |
| 1985 | 882.2 | 911 | 1793.2 |
| 1986 | 859.8 | 1082 | 1941.8 |
| 1987 | 823.7 | 1089 | 1912.7 |
| 1988 | 799.8 | 1061 | 1860.8 |

Source: Felmingham and Rutherford (1989)

In summary, Tasmania has two main attractions to offer industry, namely resources and subsidised hydro electricity. Tasmania's solicitations are in competition with other States in Australia and other regions around the globe. Inducements are therefore needed to attract industry and the Tasmanian Development Authority exists to advertise Tasmania's advantages which are structured around a range of subsidies. The establishment of a major industry in Tasmania is a significant social, economic and political coup for the political party concerned, prompting the offering of inducements for industry to locate in Tasmania. The greater magnitude of the loss of an industry, however, hangs heavy over the heads of political decision makers in Tasmania and prompts the development of concessions aimed at keeping industry in the State; the result being that industry very much holds the whip hand in Tasmania

**Table 4.8 Net State Debt Burden on the Tasmanian State Budget 1975/76-1988/89 ($m)**

| | Net Debt Related Payments From Consolidated Fund | State Debt Burden |
|---|---|---|
| 1975/76 | 15.4 | 4.78 |
| 1976/77 | 16.3 | 4.11 |
| 1977/78 | 21.4 | 4.82 |
| 1978/79 | 22.2 | 4.48 |
| 1979/80 | 24.8 | 4.43 |
| 1980/81 | 35.8 | 5.77 |
| 1981/82 | 40.1 | 5.87 |
| 1982/83 | 39.9 | 5.22 |
| 1983/84 | 45.7 | 5.36 |
| 1984/85 | 50.6 | 5.31 |
| 1985/86 | 59.9 | 5.85 |
| 1986/87 | 67.8 | 6.12 |
| 1987/88 | 72.7 | 6.05 |
| 1988/89 | 77.1 | 6.19 |

State Debt Burden - Consolidated fund divided by Net Debt Related Payments

Source: Felmingham and Rutherford (1989)

## 4.4 HOBART'S DEVELOPMENT AND POSITION IN RELATION TO THAT OF TASMANIA

In this section there are two aims: first, briefly to discuss key aspects of the post–World War II development of Tasmania; and, secondly, to exemplify these aspects in the case of Hobart generally and the Eastern Beaches specifically. Discussion in this section is based upon the following sources: HEC (1962); Solomon (1972 and 1976); Burrows (1978); Alexander (1986 and 1991); Barton (1989) and Bradshaw (1989).

Tasmania's 'hydroindustrialisation' is a classic modernist story. Hudson (1989) outlines the interwar British precursor to the development of Tasmania's "consensual politics of modernisation" (Hudson 1989 p20). In short, laissez faire mistrust of state intervention was allayed by state involvement with regional interests, first, in attempts to remedy the Depression and, secondly, in World War II. In Australia, the ability and

need of each State to manage more closely its own affairs and assume greater responsibility for its own destiny and self sufficiency during World War II was carried into the post–war years.

Immediately following World War II, the Tasmanian Government was faced with a housing shortage and an increasing population. Housing and gainful employment were the two major post–war priorities. Industry was the post–World War II dynamo of the developed world. Industry defined the limits of possibility and forged new spatial relations; industry was the new way ahead, the shining electric light on the hill. For Tasmania, however, industry was the only way ahead. Building upon pre–World War II experience and war–time Commonwealth infrastructure the Tasmanian Government embarked upon a program of hydro electric development (Table 4.9) and industrial assistance intended to lay the foundations for post–war prosperity. To Tasmania's cheap and plentiful resources was added cheap hydro

**Table 4.9 Hydro Electric Commission Dams Completed 1938 - 1970**

| | Year Operational | Hp ('000) |
|---|---|---|
| Shannon | - | 57 |
| Tarraleah | 1938 | 502 |
| Waddamana B | 1944 | 397 |
| Butler's Gorge | 1951 | 61 |
| Tungatinah | 1953 | 570 |
| Trevallyn | 1955 | 354 |
| Lake Echo | 1956 | 76 |
| Wayatinah | 1957 | 256 |
| Liapootah | 1960 | 182 |
| | | Ave Annual Output (mill kW) |
| Catagunya | 1962 | 260 |
| Poatina | 1964 | 1322 |
| Tod's Corner | 1966 | 13 |
| Meadowbank | 1967 | 209 |
| Cluny | 1967 | 105 |
| Repulse | 1968 | 160 |
| Rowallan | 1968 | 40 |
| Lemonthyme | 1969 | 286 |
| Devils Gate | 1969 | 300 |

Source: Solomon (1972) and Robson (1991)

electric power, public industrial estates and contiguous public housing estates as well as a range of incentives and subsidies for industry (Bradshaw 1989). What followed in Tasmania was a relatively harmonious and prosperous period of hydroindustrial development (Table 4.10). Industry was the key to prosperity, providing the employment, wages and taxes upon which post–World War II consumerism and public infrastructure development was based (Table 4.11).

**Table 4.10 Major Private Industrial Hydro Electric Power Users 1961**

| | Location | No. Empl | Power Demand (kW) |
|---|---|---|---|
| EZ | Risdon | 2800 | 92 000 |
| Comalco | Bell Bay | 750 | 38 000 |
| ANM | Boyer | 1050 | 23 000 |
| APPM | Burnie | 2600 | 22 500 |
| Tas Electro-Metal Company | Bell Bay | 60 | 11 500 |
| Electrona | Channel | 220 | 10 200 |
| Mt Lyell | Queenstown | 1620 | 5 500 |
| EZ | Rosebery | 730 | 4 100 |
| APM | Geeveston | 165 | 3 750 |
| Goliath | Railton | 280 | 3 500 |

Source: HEC (1962)

The post–World War II spirit of reconstruction had three main urban foci:

- urban housing;
- decentralised industry; and
- urban renewal.

Industry was decentralised "to achieve a more equitable and strategic spread of industry throughout Australia, to locate in provincial centres and arrest the drift to the cities" (Secondary Industries Division of the Department of Post War Reconstruction 1951 in Bradshaw 1989 p94). In Hobart, industry was "decentralised" to the municipality of Glenorchy but post–World War II population growth (Table 4.12), housing construction and transport infrastructure development resulted in the integration of what had been, in 1940, an isolated municipality into Hobart's urban system by 1960.

## Table 4.11 Tasmanian Industrial Employment 1938/39 - 1966/67

| | 1938/39 | | 1966/67 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. Change (%) | % Change (%) |
| Treatment of Non-Metalliferous Mining and Quarry Products | 384 | 2.6 | 835 | 2.4 | 117.4 | -7.7 |
| Bricks, Pottery, Glass etc | 222 | 1.5 | 354 | 1 | 59.4 | -33.3 |
| Chemicals, Dyes, Paints etc | 129 | 0.9 | 995 | 2.9 | 671.3 | 222 |
| Industrial Metals and Machinery | 4025 | 27.7 | 11908 | 34.6 | 195.8 | 24.9 |
| Precious Metals, Jewellery | 21 | 0.1 | 47 | 0.1 | 123.8 | 0 |
| Textiles | 1599 | 11 | 4004 | 11.6 | 150.4 | 5.5 |
| Skins and Leather | 102 | 0.7 | 47 | 0.1 | -53.9 | -85.7 |
| Clothing | 523 | 3.6 | 729 | 2.1 | 39.3 | -41.7 |
| Food, Drink and Tobacco | 3439 | 23.7 | 5376 | 15.6 | 56.3 | -34.1 |
| Sawmills, Woodworking | 2188 | 15 | 4066 | 11.6 | 85.8 | -22.6 |
| Furniture | 391 | 2.7 | 614 | 1.8 | 57 | -33.3 |
| Paper, Printing | 1258 | 8.7 | 5168 | 15 | 310.8 | 72.4 |
| Rubber | 57 | 0.4 | 151 | 0.5 | 164.9 | 25 |
| Miscellaneous | 178 | 1.2 | 158 | 0.5 | -11.2 | -58.3 |
| Total | 14 516 | 100 | 34 452 | 100 | 137.3 | - |
| Heat, Light and Power | 151 | - | 427 | - | 182.7 | - |

Source: Solomon (1972)

## Table 4.12 Population Growth for Moonah/Glenorchy Compared to the Rest of Hobart 1911 - 1961

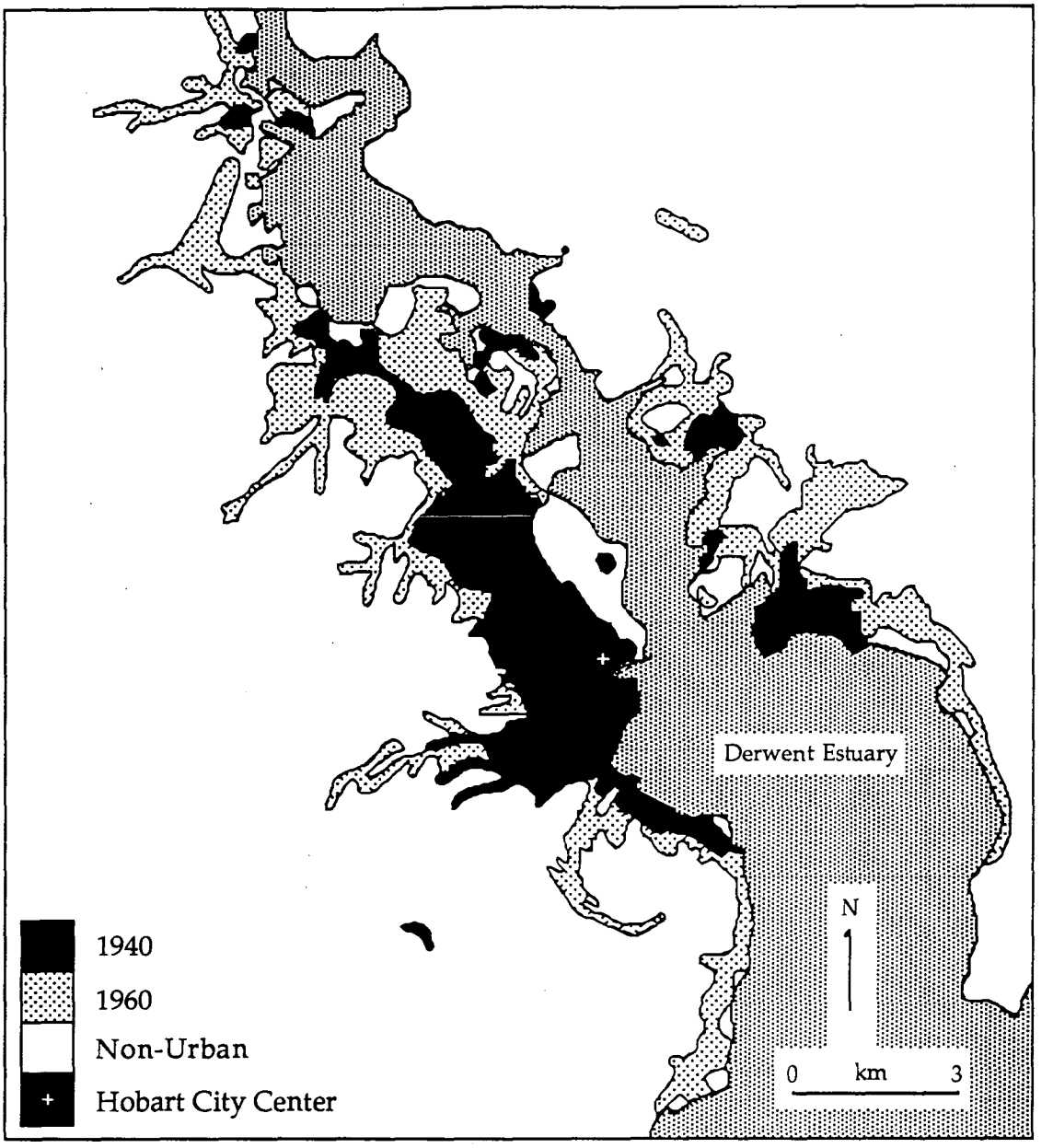
| | Moonah/Glenorchy | | Rest Hobart |
|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % Change | |
| 1911 | 3 393 | - | - |
| 1933 | 9 898 | 193 | 50 |
| 1961 | 35 682 | 260 | 84 |

Source: Solomon (1976)

The immediate post–World War II housing shortage was a result of the virtual cessation of housing construction during the war, population pressure fed by immigration and displacement caused by the post–war program of urban renewal, for example the clearance of the old dockside area of Wopping. In 1946 the Emergency Housing Act was passed in Tasmania authorising the compulsory rental of all unoccupied housing for a period of two years (Robson 1991). Furthermore, temporary accommodation was established in Brighton, Cornelian Bay and New Town Bay, and holiday homes were authorised to be offered for three months rental. This last development exemplifies the fact that Hobart has had, since at least 1945, holiday home–cum–fringe–housing areas. For example, Blackmans Bay was a popular beachside holiday home area before World War II. At the beginning of 1947, Blackmans Bay had a permanent population of 57. By the end of 1947, following the taking effect of State emergency housing legislation, Blackmans Bay's permanent population had increased to 343. By 1956, the permanent population of Blackmans Bay was 872 (Martin 1991). Many families had converted holiday homes to permanent dwellings and many more had built homes in the area. Areas such as Lindisfarne, Howrah, Tranmere and Kingston, also initially holiday home areas, were gradually converted to areas of permanent residence in the ten years before and after World War II.

Closer to Hobart, the scene was also altering. Pre–World War II urban development had been predominantly tied to a relatively compact road network around Hobart and a few radial outlets (notably, out through New Town and Moonah en route to New Norfolk and Launceston). Registered motor vehicles per 1000 persons for Tasmania approximately doubled from 121 in 1947 to 244 in 1957 (with Hoey 1992). Consequently, transport infrastructure development was required; a floating bridge across the Derwent Estuary was constructed in 1943, planning for the Brooker Highway was begun in 1946 and the Tasman Bridge was proposed in 1958 and opened in 1964 (Robson 1991). Access to the eastern shore of Hobart resulted in a major increase in population in the Clarence municipality, from approximately 4 400 people in 1942 to 23 140 people in 1961. Between 1961 and 1971 the population of Clarence increased by a further 60 per cent (Lee and Wood 1978). Post–World War II transport infrastructure development and the construction of broad acre public and private housing subdivisions 'filled out' the pre–war structure of Hobart, most obviously in Hobart's northern urban areas (Figure 4.3) but also true to a lesser degree elsewhere.

Figure 4.3 Hobart's Urban Extent 1940 - 1960




Source: Solomon (1976)

Change was also evident in the centre of Hobart. By 1960, extensive rebuilding of Hobart's CBD was underway. Road upgrading, the introduction of a one way traffic system, the State Library, the Royal Hobart Hospital, the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery and the headquarters of the HEC were changing the skyline, traffic flow and character of the centre of Hobart. State funded infrastructure was also extending to developing outer urban areas in the form of roads, schools, regional health care facilities, libraries, water schemes and public works and services.

Implications of these post–World War II developments also extended to Hobart's semiurban areas. First, a pattern of low density peripheral urban development was established, based upon cheap land and economies of scale, which resulted in the recent public development of areas such as Risdon Vale, Maranoa Heights, Bridgewater and Rokeby. Secondly, private development of a generally lower density of areas such as Acton, Old Beach and Tinderbox was made possible by improved access. Finally, the permanent habitation of pre–World War II holiday home areas, combined with increased discretionary income due to high real wages and cheap post–World War II housing, resulted in the development of new holiday home areas which were accessed in recently purchased vehicles driven on recently developed or upgraded roads. Many new post–World War II holiday home areas underwent residential development during the 1970s, fed by the inner city gentrification of areas such as Battery Point, for example Lauderdale, Seven Mile Beach, Cremorne, Clifton Beach, Midway Point and the channel area beyond Kingston (Thorne 1977 pp65–69).

The 'long boom' in Tasmania ran from roughly 1950 to 1970 (Professor W. A. Townsley dates Tasmania's 'long boom' as having occurred between 1958 and 1973 ["The Mercury" 10/10/91 and 7ZR 11/10/91]). A growing population was employed and housed on hydroindustrial prosperity. From 1970, however, trends in Tasmania's comparative cost advantages and in industrial restructuring resulted in a withdrawing and rationalising of industry. Labour intensive industries were moved elsewhere and resource extraction industries were rationalised, as reflected in trends in Tasmanian Employment by industry between 1954 and 1986 (Table 4.13). Tasmania's structure of public assistance to industry became, if not obsolete, then subject to diminishing returns. The employment, wages and taxes contributed by industry to the social contract steadily declined. In short, industry was contributing less to the employment and prosperity of Tasmanians but it was extracting and producing more. Today, the relationship between industry, labour and the state is disproportionate. The state's ability to maintain the social contract by way of social services is undermined by the continued assistance of industries whose diminished, though still significant, stake in a State such as Tasmania is both a hindrance and a help, assisting those who still have a job but hurting those without employment by tying up limited government resources and stifling the development of a new direction for Tasmania.

**Table 4.13 Tasmanian Employment by Industry 1954 - 1986 (%)**

| | | 1954 | 1961 | 1966 | 1971 | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Primary Production | 16.6 | 13.1 | 11.7 | 9.17 | 7.8 | 7.63 | 7.49 |
| 2. | Mining | 3.1 | 2.8 | 2.3 | 3.05 | 2.6 | 2.53 | 1.89 |
| 3. | Manufacturing | 22.4 | 22.6 | 23.1 | 20.99 | 16.9 | 15.33 | 14.17 |
| 4. | Elect, Gas and Water, Construction | 13.3 | 12.6 | 12.4 | 11.05 | 9.6 | 9.15 | 9.39 |
| 5. | Wholesale and Retail Trade | 13.9 | 15.7 | 15.6 | 18.05 | 17.8 | 17.06 | 17.96 |
| 6. | Transport and Storage | 7 | 6.9 | 6 | 5.06 | 5 | 4.79 | 4.73 |
| 7. | Communication | 2.4 | 2.8 | 2.6 | 2.15 | 1.9 | 2 | 2.04 |
| 8. | Finance, Property and Business Services | 2.3 | 2.8 | 3.1 | 5.21 | 6 | 6.31 | 7 |
| 9. | Public Administration and Defence | - | 3.8 | 3.7 | 4.8 | 4.7 | 5.19 | 5.16 |
| 10. | Community Services | 12 (incl 9.) | 9.9 | 11.9 | 11.82 | 15 | 17.38 | 20.09 |
| 11. | Recreation, Personal and Other Services | 6 | 5.4 | 5.6 | 5.07 | 5.8 | 5.99 | 6.83 |
| 12. | Other | 1 | 1.6 | 2 | 3.58 | 7 | 6.63 | 3.24 |

Source: Solomon (1972), ABS Tasmanian Year Book (1973 & 1979) and ABS Census (1981 & 1986) Catalogue No. 2401.6

Before the long boom ended around 1970, certain aspects of its particular form of development, growth and prosperity were built into the spatial configuration of Hobart. In general terms, post–World War II urban development began the next stage in a process of "metropolitan deconcentration" (Gottdiener 1988 p4) which had been underway for most of the twentieth century. Today, deconcentration means that cities need no longer be self contained in two ways. First, different elements of different cities can be linked by multinational corporations through the use of technology driven time–space compression; it is no longer necessary for capital to have all its requirements located in a single city or even country. Secondly, popular time–space compression in the form of transport infrastructure and private motor vehicles brings previously isolated areas within the reach of urban development.

The major area currently undergoing the transition from holiday home area to an area of permanent residence is the focus in this study, namely the Eastern Beaches. The reasons households are moving to live in the Eastern Beaches, however, are also resulting in semiurban development in areas such as Bagdad, Brighton, Mangalore, Huonville, Woodbridge, Lower Longley and Richmond (see Chapter 6). The post–World War II development of Hobart exemplifies changing relations between capital, labour and the state which are, in turn, based upon the differential effects of time–space compression. Tasmania's major industrial complexes were established in an era when fragmentation of the production process was not possible to the degree it is today. If, in one region, an industry could access the required raw materials, cheap power, industrial and transport infrastructure and deal with a favourably disposed and stable government, then a reasonably sophisticated plant was invested in, despite Tasmania's high labour costs and relative isolation. From 1970, however, the mobility of capital has increased to the point where the co–ordination of separate elements of the production process is sufficiently cheap and easy to make possible the minimising of costs in all areas of production. Thus, the labour component of production in Tasmania is minimised and limited to the extraction and export of produce to be processed in a region without high labour costs or strong union organisation. Remaining operations are rationalised to produce more but employ less. What time–space compression makes possible at one point in time can, at a later date, be rendered unfeasible by the competitive need to utilise the advantages offered by improved technology. Technology improvements and time–space compression give capital the means to minimise costs in Tasmania by either closing or rationalising

operations. Unfortunately for Tasmania, its least comparatively competitive cost is labour.

Labour and the state are relatively immobile. The retreat and restructuring of industry has weakened the basis of prosperity in Tasmania leaving the state to cope as best it can. It is less possible, however, for the state to assist labour due to the drain of capital's requirements upon limited government resources. Non–means tested public housing for purchase at cost is no longer provided by the state because it is both too expensive and no longer required by industry. The extension of home ownership down the income distribution was based upon as well as made possible hydroindustrial development and prosperity. With the decline of prosperity the housing of low income households has been given back to the private housing market. Instead of a guaranteed public standard of housing and services relatively close to the city, low income home purchasers are forced out to isolated private poorly serviced semiurban areas.

> In the period after World War II, major corporations and labor unions came together to forge new central city political coalitions. Organised around policies to maintain the city's economic growth and fiscal viability, the coalitions pushed forward with costly urban renewal projects, intrametropolitan transportation, industrial parks, development corporations, zoning variances, underassessments, subsidised water and power, and so on (Friedland 1976 in Gottdiener 1988 p221).

Such was the case in Hobart, Tasmania. Post–World War II reconstruction was the next stage in the uneven development of the city. It involved conflict between use and exchange value, the formation of new growth networks and the juggling of blight and renewal. Post–World War II pro–growth ideology was not new. The pre–World War II city form was simply making way for the new as slum clearance, urban renewal and outer urban residential development both changed and extended the form of the city. A distinctive form of space was produced which was built upon those produced before it. The need to re–produce the city is evident today in the clash between small central city business interests, representing past development, and multinational office development companies (Byers 1990). The rebuilding of the city is a continual and contingent outcome of secondary circuit capital circulation which is driven by competition and is based upon and, in turn, changes established spatial and property relations. Despite the increased participation of the state, development is a confused

and anarchic process due to the contradictory role of property within capitalist society (Gottdiener 1988 p193). Private property grants exclusive use rights which vitiate systematic planning. State planning authorities have no control over private property and hence they are confined to attempting to regulate superficial specifics of capitalist development; control over the process of uneven development is virtually impossible. Due to the facilitatory role of the state in urban development, state regulation is usually token (for example, the Hobart City Council's practice of offering plot ratio bonuses to office developers in return for minor aesthetic concessions [Byers 1990]).

The social, economic, political and spatial relations of labour within Hobart have changed since World War II. Before World War II, low income households often inhabited overcrowded unsanitary slum tenements, for example in Battery Point, North Hobart between Bathurst Street and Burnett Street, South Hobart along the Hobart Rivulet, the inner city area of what is now Cat and Fiddle Arcade and in the old dockside area of Wopping. Post–World War II urban renewal, the demolition of slum areas, stricter building regulations and public housing construction cleared the inner city for new development and located low income households in sanitary subsidised urban public housing. Urban residential development stimulated the building and consumer goods industries (Miller 1991), coincided with the labour requirements of decentralised industry and was based upon time–space compression made possible by the private motor vehicle. Today, many of these factors have altered. Industrial employment (crucial to post–World War II prosperity and the ability to purchase a home) has declined, public housing has been cut back and become welfare oriented and subsidised infrastructure has reached the point where it can no longer be afforded (for example, Table 4.14 gives the nature of debt for Hobart's semiurban municipalities for 1989/90 as well as the Sorell Council's debt for 1990/91).

The real estate industry relates with changing spatial relations to influence the locational choices of low income households. Priced out of home purchase in the better areas, displaced from the inner city by urban renewal and gentrification, refused subsidised public housing and denied urban home purchase by rising land and housing prices and interest rates, the best option for low income home purchase today is in semiurban areas. This has been made possible by the advantages of time–space compression. Pre–World War II rental of overcrowded slum tenements gave way to the post–war state subsidised extension of urban home ownership down the income

**Table 4.14 Hobart's Semiurban Municipalities' Loan and Debt Charges 1989/90 ($)**

| | Loans Received | Net Loan Debt | Total Loan Debt Charges | % Debt Charges to Current Receipts |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brighton | 538 160 | 6 555 192 | 1 207 961 | 23.84 |
| Bruny | - | 89 502 | 12 632 | 2.33 |
| Esperance | 91 000 | 1 276 525 | 214 079 | 15.86 |
| Green Ponds | 161 900 | 487 991 | 92 504 | 15.03 |
| Huon | 225 000 | 1 962 145 | 360 269 | 16.87 |
| New Norfolk | 786 600 | 3 066 095 | 644 667 | 17 |
| Port Cygnet | - | 174 689 | 35 746 | 3.32 |
| Richmond | 22 735 | 782 177 | 117 094 | 11.43 |
| Sorell* | 360 000 | 3 208 727 | 649 679 | 17.31 |
| Tasman | 23 268 | 133 411 | 20 548 | 1.74 |
| Total | 2 208 663 | 17 736 454 | 3 355 179 | - |

* Sorell 1990/91:

| | |
|---|---|
| General Loan Debt | $2 576 000 |
| Midway Point | 877 500 |
| Total | 3 453 500 |
| Loan Debt Charges | 560 000 |

Source: Treasurer's Report to the Auditor General June 1990, Sorell Council, Pers. Comm., 1991

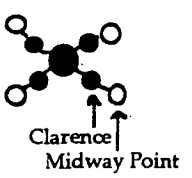
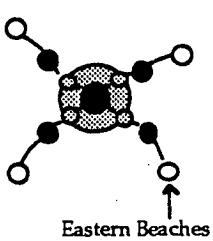
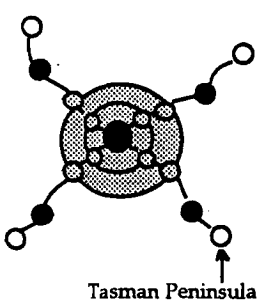
distribution in return for propitious industrial employment. Today, the spatial configuration of the city, the policies of the state, the operation of the land and housing market and the housing industry, and the ideologically shaped needs and wants of individuals combine to make locationally disadvantaged semiurban areas the best option for low income households aspiring to purchase a home. In some respects, the pre–World War II private market housing of low income households in slum tenements has changed (following the interruption of the 'long boom' public housing boon) to the diffused location of low income home purchasers to the private semiurban edges of the city. Thus, isolation and lack of services are added to more traditional forms of disadvantage for low income households.

The location of low income households in semiurban areas is due to increased mobility. Increased mobility, however, does not necessarily mean increased opportunity (though there may be more fringe areas to choose from), for labour's time–space compression must be considered in relation to capital's. Structural developments in the city (linking developments in capital investment, the role of the

state, construction and employment) together with the operation of the land and housing market (linking, in turn, developments in state policy) combine to influence the spectrum of opportunity and constraint to which low income households relate (Figure 4.4). Private inner city and urban land and housing is priced so that low income households can only afford to buy a home in public housing areas. Their only private housing option is to purchase a home in locationally disadvantaged and poorly serviced semiurban areas.

Any urban outcome is a complex combination of households, communities, fractions of capital, the state and spatial relations. Growth networks combine aspects of all these factors temporarily to remake the city. In the post–World War II period the

**Figure 4.4 Developments for Selected Actors and Factors Operating in Hobart, Tasmania 1939 - Today**

| | Pre-World War II | Long Boom | Today |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Capital - Time/ Space Compression** | Local Prod/Own External Export Mkts | Local Prod - Nat Own External Export Mkts | Local Extraction - Nat/OS Prod/Own - Ext Exp Mkts |
| **Labour** | Unemployed (Depression) | Lab Intensive Empl Ind & State | Empl Decline - Ind Restruct, Rationalising & Public Cuts |
| **State** | Exptal Keynesian Intervention | Ind & Welfare Assist | Poor - Fiscal Crisis - Capt before Labour |
| **Low Income Households** | Private Rental Slum tenements | Public Housing Boon | Private Rental & Semiurban Areas |
| **Public Housing** | Exptal Small | Public Housing for Ind then Broad Acre Public Housing | Welfare Oriented Scaled Down, Fund Cuts |
| **Prosperity** | Depression | Boom | Decline |
| **Home Ownership** | Less than 50 per cent | Stabilised at 70 per cent from c. 1960 | 70 per cent but Decline in No. Home Purchasers |
| **Private land/ Housing Mkt** | Local Underdeveloped | Publicly lead Local Development | Extensive National Mkt for Real Estate & Finance |
| **Generalised Spatial Configuration - Time-Space Compression** |   |   |   |

- Urban Extent 1939
- Radial Lines of Transport and Settlement
- Holiday Home Areas
- Urban Post-1939
- Semiurban Areas

ascendance and relatively harmonious operation of hydroindustrialisation resulted in the prospering of Tasmania. Industrial employment, new urban development, affluent single income households, consumerism and state subsidy of industrial and community development both built upon and produced new local, national and international spatial relations. The type of industry locating in Tasmania, Tasmania's marginal global economic position and Hobart's local spatial relations have been outlined above. Today, the situation appears to be different; from the challenge offered pro–growth ideology by increased environmental awareness, to the inability of the state to continue to subsidise urban expansion. Where a particular socioeconomic group is today located within a particular area of Hobart's present spatial configuration, the nature of this group and the social, economic, political and spatial relations its households' enter into is the focus in this study. It is important to realise, however, that the imperatives underlying growth, the operation of the property market, the role of the state in relation to capital and labour and the dynamics of industrial investment have not altered. The spatial expression of these factors in different ways and in different areas of the city does not alter the fact that they are still based upon the capital–labour relation and property relations and that the winners and losers in these relations remain the same.

## 4.5 HOW TO RESEARCH THESE ASPECTS TOGETHER WITH ASPECTS IDENTIFIED IN CHAPTERS 1, 2 AND 3

The nature of the topic was set out in Chapter 1; the theoretical approach as well as specific theoretical aspects relevant to the topic were outlined in Chapter 2; and issues and developments in the literature regarding the topic were identified in Chapter 3. In this chapter the general position of the Eastern Beaches within Hobart, Tasmania, Australia and the global economy has been outlined. Referring back to Figure 2.1, the purpose of the approach in this study is to make possible the non–reductionist investigation of a sociospatial outcome which has developed within the capitalist system. Thus, a theoretical conception of the workings of the capitalist system is required which appreciates how a particular outcome is situated within the interconnected scales of organisation within the capitalist system; hence, discussion in this chapter has been informed by theory. On a less theoretical level, an appreciation of current urban issues and developments is needed to understand the specifics of

forces influencing low income households. The development of a methodology in this study, therefore, is based upon a general conception of the topic, an outlined theoretical approach together with the identification of particular theoretical aspects of relevance to the topic and, finally, an understanding of current issues and developments regarding the topic as set out in the related literature. In this chapter the topic has been situated within a theoretically informed discussion of the integrated scales of organisation within the capitalist system. The topic, theory, approach, literature and the scope of the topic have been set out. The methodology used to investigate the topic in light of these aspects is discussed in Chapter 5.

# 5.0 METHODOLOGY

The aim in this chapter is to detail how the position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area was investigated. Methodology needs to be consistent with the aim, approach and scope in this study. There are, thus, two parts in this chapter: first, the relationship between approach and method is discussed, building on the foundations laid in Chapter 2; and, secondly, the methodology underlying the research presented in this study is outlined.

## 5.1 APPROACH AND METHOD

The relationship between structure and agency, as opposed to context and agency, is central in this study (Massey and Meegan 1985). Thus, the interactive structuring of processes, rather than the identification of patterns, is the emphasis in this study. To say, however, that this study is process based does not exclude the identification of patterns. The linking of these two levels of analysis is possible due to the emphasis given intensive and extensive research in relation to the conceptual framework used in this study. First, the theory informed conceptual framework helps to conceptualise processes as well as their interactive structuring. Secondly, extensive research, making no claim to either generalisation or explanation, can help uncover patterns and identify outcomes. Finally, intensive research is concerned with how a causal process is structured in specific cases. The linking of intensive and extensive research and conceptual framework involves the concepts necessary and contingent relations. In relation to the approach, it is necessary tendential relations which are generalisable, not contingency affected outcomes. For example, necessary capitalist relations (such as the capital–labour relation and property relations) underlie the operation of the land and housing market, but the particularities of such tendential capitalist relations are conditioned by a host of contingencies (such as local state policy and the socially perceived values of individual households). Thus, it is possible for the same process to produce different outcomes as well as for similar outcomes to be produced by different processes due to the operation of processes in relation with different contingencies. This possibility confounds the identification of causality based on common outcomes.

## 5.2 SPECIFIC METHODOLOGY

To restate: the aim in this study is to understand the present position of low income households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area. This is achieved by means of a case study of Hobart's Eastern Beaches, set within a political economy framework: how the capital–labour relation interacts with the land and housing market, the policies of the state, prevailing ideology and the strategies of individuals over time to result in the location of low income households in semiurban areas, as well as some of the impacts of the semiurban human environment upon the natural environment.

### 5.2.1 Extensive Research

Extensive research was conducted regarding both human and natural environmental aspects concerning both the Greater Hobart area generally and the Eastern Beaches specifically. In the case of the Greater Hobart area, extensive research was used to identify patterns and trends. The first task in extensive research into the human environment concerning the Greater Hobart area was to calculate urban and semiurban population growth. The major problem encountered was the inadequacy of ABS statistical divisions in measuring the areal extent of semiurban population growth. This problem was overcome by identifying areas of semiurban population growth at the collectors district level and devising a method of appropriately mapping the results. Unfortunately, journey to work data were unavailable at the collectors district level as well as over time for LGAs. The second task in extensive research into the human environment concerning the Greater Hobart area was to calculate and present average asked house prices advertised in "The Mercury" statewide daily newspaper over time. The major problem encountered was the inflation of some average asked house prices by a handful of higher priced homes. This problem was overcome by presenting a table of median asked house prices for Hobart's urban and semiurban areas for cross–reference. The third task in extensive research into the human environment concerning the Greater Hobart area was to calculate and present annual threshold income per annum required to purchase a home. The major problem encountered was in aligning loan repayments with the prevailing rate of interest, median family gross annual income and average asked house prices. The fourth task

in extensive research into the human environment concerning the Greater Hobart area was to calculate and present urban and semiurban median family gross annual income measures. The major problem encountered was in deriving median family gross annual income from collectors district information for semiurban areas. The fifth task in extensive research into the human environment concerning the Greater Hobart area was to calculate and present the deposit gap measure of accessibility over time. The major problem encountered was as for threshold income per annum required to purchase a home, namely the aligning of loan repayments with the prevailing rate of interest, median family gross annual income and average asked house prices.

One further problem was encountered regarding extensive research into the human environment concerning the Greater Hobart area. In an attempt to gain more of an insight into the socioeconomic character of Hobart's urban and semiurban areas, Department of Social Security (DSS) 'in house' client statistics were utilised. Part of the reason access was granted to these statistics was that DSS officers' felt that an increasing number of clients were based in isolated (in terms of access to DSS and Commonwealth Employment Service [CES] offices, employment opportunities and training programs) semiurban areas but that the DSS had neither the time nor resources to retrieve relevant data from its database to substantiate this feeling. DSS data by area was found to be reliable down to the scale of the LGA. Below this scale, however, DSS data ran into the problem foreshadowed above, namely in the definition of semiurban post code areas. This problem took two forms: first, it was not possible to discern the areal extent of semiurban post code areas as no map was available, Australia Post's definition being by township only. Thus, all that can be said of the Forcett post code area is that it includes the townships of Bally Park, Dodges Ferry, Carlton, Carlton Beach, Lewisham, Park Beach, Primrose Sands, White Hills, Forcett and Connellys Marsh. The first seven of these townships comprise the Eastern Beaches and the last three are only comparatively small in size. Secondly, there is no postal delivery in the Eastern Beaches, mail having to be picked up from the only post office in the area in Dodges Ferry. Thus, data by post code area is unreliable in the case of the Eastern Beaches because households employ a variety of alternative postal strategies due to the inadequacy of the local service, for example having a post office box in Sorell or having mail delivered to family or friends elsewhere. For this reason figures for the Forcett post code area were most likely lower than in reality and therefore could not be meaningfully compared with figures for LGAs. Consequently,

only two probably under–estimated figures are given for the Forcett post code area in Chapter 6, namely total number of benefit recipients and those receiving family allowance. These two figures are given in order to exemplify the large number of benefit recipients in the semiurban post code area of Forcett, the bulk of the population of which lives in the Eastern Beaches.

The main task in extensive research into the natural environment was to calculate transport data for Tasmania and the Greater Hobart area concerning density, car ownership and price, petroleum usage and price and MTT patronage. The aim was to document the low density spread of Hobart, based upon increasingly affordable car ownership and petrol prices, and then to calculate the environmental impact of this development in the form of increased $CO_2$ emissions. One problem encountered was in obtaining data earlier than 1976. This problem was overcome by accessing the files of the ABS, the Transport Department and the Metropolitan Transport Trust. Another problem encountered was in establishing Hobart's residential extent. The method used to estimate population data for selected semiurban areas was not appropriate for two reasons. First, due to collectors district boundary changes, data were not compatible before 1976. Secondly, the time and cost involved in analysing every collectors district around the perimeter of Hobart back to 1954 was prohibitive. The method devised used the street atlas series available from 1954 from the mapping division of the Department of Environment and Planning. Every $500m^2$ grid with three or more houses in it was counted as part of the Greater Hobart area. Metric conversions were applied earlier than 1966. Though this method does not result in the precise representation of the Greater Hobart area, it is relatively closely approximate to it, consistent over time, practical and suited to the purpose in this study. Moreover, data are only intended to be indicative. Extensive research into the natural environment at the scale of Hobart's residential extent was undertaken with Craig Hoey (1992).

Extensive research was also used to identify patterns and trends in the Eastern Beaches. Extensive research into the human environment consisted of the organisation of collectors district data into areas conforming roughly to the area names given the more–or–less continuous ribbon coastal development of the Eastern Beaches, for example Lewisham and Dodges Ferry. Data presented for each area included permanent population, permanently occupied dwellings, occupation, demographic

profile, number of vehicles per household, nature of occupancy of permanently occupied dwellings and median family gross annual income. One major problem was updating permanent population and occupied dwellings to 1991 (data from the 1991 Census being published too late to be used in this study). This problem was overcome by accessing the rate records in the Sorell Council of each individual household in the Eastern Beaches to arrive at an approximate figure for permanently occupied dwellings for 1991. Approximate permanent population was calculated using the persons per household ratio for each area for 1986.

Consideration of the environmental impacts of development in the Eastern Beaches was based upon researched impacts identified by Dobson and Williams (1978) and Millington (1983) and perceived impacts and issues identified by the interview survey and 'overviewers'. Where possible, photographic examples of environmental impacts were provided. The major problem encountered was the lack of both time and expertise to carry out any form of in–depth environmental assessment. This problem was overcome by basing observations of environmental impacts upon previous research and couching discussion at the level of perceived impacts and issues and focussing upon the implications for the environmental management of development in the Eastern Beaches.

### 5.2.2 Intensive Research

Intensive research was conducted regarding the Eastern Beaches. Intensive research was intended to help understand how causal processes were structured in the case of low income households in the particular spatial context of the semiurban area of the Eastern Beaches. The identification of necessary and contingent relations helps to understand how causal processes and their underlying necessary structural tendencies generally relate with particular contingencies to produce a unique sociospatial outcome. Both causal processes and particular circumstances influence the production of specific sociospatial outcomes. Appreciation of the interaction between necessary and contingent relations in the case of a particular household in a specific place is vital to broad based understanding.

Intensive research primarily consisted of an interview survey of permanent households in the Eastern Beaches (Blum and Foos 1986). The definition of a household is taken from the ABS 1986 Census Dictionary:

> For census purposes, a household comprises persons in a house, medium density housing, flat/unit, or caravan in a caravan park, living and eating together as a domestic unit; typical household categories are family households (with or without non-family members present), lone person households and group households (of two or more unrelated persons).
>
> It is not necessary for any permanent partition, such as a wall, or a locked door, to separate two households; indeed, they might share common facilities, such as a toilet or laundry. For example, a lodger who lives with a family and provides all his own food, is not a member of the family's household, but constitutes a separate household and completed a separate household form. It is therefore possible and in fact quite common, for more than one household to inhabit a simple structure (The 1986 Census of Population and Housing Dictionary [Catalogue No. 2174.0] p74).

The aim of the interview survey was to access as wide a range of households as possible. This range was spread evenly between areas within the Eastern Beaches. There are approximately 1000 permanent households in the Eastern Beaches. There was no practical way to survey these households to any degree of statistical significance. Instead, the aim was to survey sufficient households to make possible the broad categorisation of household types. Household types could then be exemplified by case studies. Thus, a method to interview enough households to capture a sufficiently wide range of household types in the Eastern Beaches was devised. A total of 50 interviews was considered adequate to capture, not the comprehensive detailed range of households in the Eastern Beaches, but the broad categories of households living there. The survey population was the approximately 1000 permanent households of the Eastern Beaches. Each area within the Eastern Beaches, namely Lewisham, Dodges Ferry, Park Beach, Carlton and Primrose Sands, was allocated a quota of 10 interviews. By area, therefore, the interviews were based upon a non-probability quota sample. Within each area the 10 interviews were based upon a probability random sample with each household within the area of, for example Lewisham, having an equal chance of being selected. From the top or northern end of each area to the bottom or southern end, every fifth house in the street was visited (working up one side of the street and down the other) until 10 interviews had been

conducted. Many houses visited were unattended, the owners either living elsewhere or being out, and hence 10 interviews with a 5 house interval spread the survey widely across each area. Intervals of 5 were found to be the most practical way of covering the area during the pilot study. Streets with less than 5 houses were treated as part of another street. On no occasion was the limit of an area reached before 10 interviews had been conducted.

The interviews were conducted over an approximate six week period from September 23 to November 6. From the interviewer's place of residence to the Eastern Beaches is approximately a 100 kilometre round trip. A car was required for interviewing due to the often quite large distances between interviewees (resulting from the nature of the survey design). Interviews were conducted between 11.00 am and 5.00 pm on weekdays as this was when the interviewer had access to a car. Weekend interviewing was not possible for two reasons: first, no car was available; and, secondly, private bus services to the Eastern Beaches either do not run on weekends or only run a mid–to–late afternoon one way trip.

The interview was structured around six sections using a funnelling technique (Appendix 1). The first four sections consisted of more specific, quantitative and closed questions concerning the household's background, housing, structure, travel arrangements and income. The fifth section on the natural environment was used to ease the interviewee into more general, qualitative and open questions which were used in the sixth section to structure conversation concerning issues in the Eastern Beaches. Endnotes were written after each interview to record any noteworthy developments or impressions. Interviews were conducted by the same interviewer (the author) and were preceded by a pilot study. All interviews were face–to–face and were conducted in the interviewees' homes. The average time taken for each interview was approximately 45 minutes.

The second component of intensive research was personal communication with a variety of private and public 'overviewers' of the Eastern Beaches. This group included the planner, clerk and engineer of the Sorell Council, planning officers of the Department of Education and the Arts and the Housing and Health Divisions of the Department of Community Services, the local policeman, local real estate agents, local councillors, TDA loans officers and local developers. These 'overviewers' added

insight to issues as well as to aspects of processes operating in the Eastern Beaches. They were qualified to comment on their area of professional relation to the Eastern Beaches and the way in which this affected households either directly or via policy. For example, a real estate agent could comment on housing prices or households locating in the Eastern Beaches, whereas a TDA loans officer could comment on policy and its effect upon households generally, but not necessarily within the Eastern Beaches. In addition to this, some 'overviewers' resided in the Eastern Beaches. The position and interest of each 'overviewer', therefore, needed to be carefully borne in mind.

## 5.3 SUMMARY

Understanding the position of low income households in the spatial context of a particular semiurban area is the focus in this study. This focus is structured so as to set the understanding of a case study of Hobart's Eastern Beaches within a political economy framework. Understanding is process based, thus requiring a research design which incorporates both intensive and extensive research. Intensive data is intended to be comprehensive in range in order to capture and exemplify the ways in which different categories of households relate to broader processes. Necessary and contingent relations are used to distinguish between general, and thus generalisable, processes and contingent circumstances. Theory conceptualises tendential relations and causal processes, extensive research identifies general patterns and trends and intensive research helps to understand how individual households possessing unique characteristics and located in a particular place interact with necessary relations and processes. Approach is crucial to method. For intensive and extensive research "to be compatible they must share the same conceptual framework" (Massey and Meegan 1985 p7). At the same time, research is vital to theory based understanding. In short, neither theory, intensive nor extensive research makes possible, on its own, broad based understanding. The three need to be carefully combined in order to appreciate, for example, the present operation of the land and housing market (and the labour market related position therein of low income households) together with the unique social, economic and political outcome of individual households within the spatial context of a particular semiurban area.

# 6.0 HOBART'S SEMIURBAN AREAS

The aim in this chapter is to detail the present nature and extent of Hobart's semiurban areas. There are three foci in this chapter: first, population trends in Hobart's semiurban areas; secondly, trends in housing accessibility and affordability in and around Hobart; and, finally, the natural environmental implications of density and transport trends in and around Hobart. In short, the marked growth in population in semiurban areas around Hobart is outlined in this chapter which, it is shown, is primarily due to home purchase being more affordable in semiurban areas. Finally, the natural environmental implications of the low density development of the Greater Hobart area are discussed, principally accentuating finite fossil fuel depletion and $CO_2$ emissions by private motor vehicles.

The statistical generalisations in this chapter are not intended to hold true for any one particular household. Statistical generalisations are meant to give an indication of the character of an area, identifying broad trends and patterns concerning one type of household as opposed to another.

## 6.1 AREAL POPULATION TRENDS IN AND AROUND HOBART

First, mention needs to be made of the difficulty in defining Hobart's areal extent. Hobart's urban extent is given in Figure 6.1. The definition of urban is taken as being integration into a system of reticulated water and sewage. Many households and communities beyond the reach of reticulated water and sewage, however, use and are part of Hobart's employment and housing market, commercial network and so on. The ABS's Hobart Statistical Division is an attempt to include semiurban areas in the definition of Hobart's area (Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3). The Hobart statistical division, however, is inadequate for the purpose in this study for two reasons: first, Hobart's present semiurban development extends beyond the Hobart Statistical Division into the Southern Statistical Division (Table 6.1); and, secondly, the Hobart statistical division does not differentiate between urban and semiurban areas (Table 6.2). Semiurban population growth is responsible for most of the Greater Hobart area's increase in population between 1971 and 1986 of approximately 20 per cent and, as the

**Figure 6.1 Urban Areas Within Hobart's LGAs**

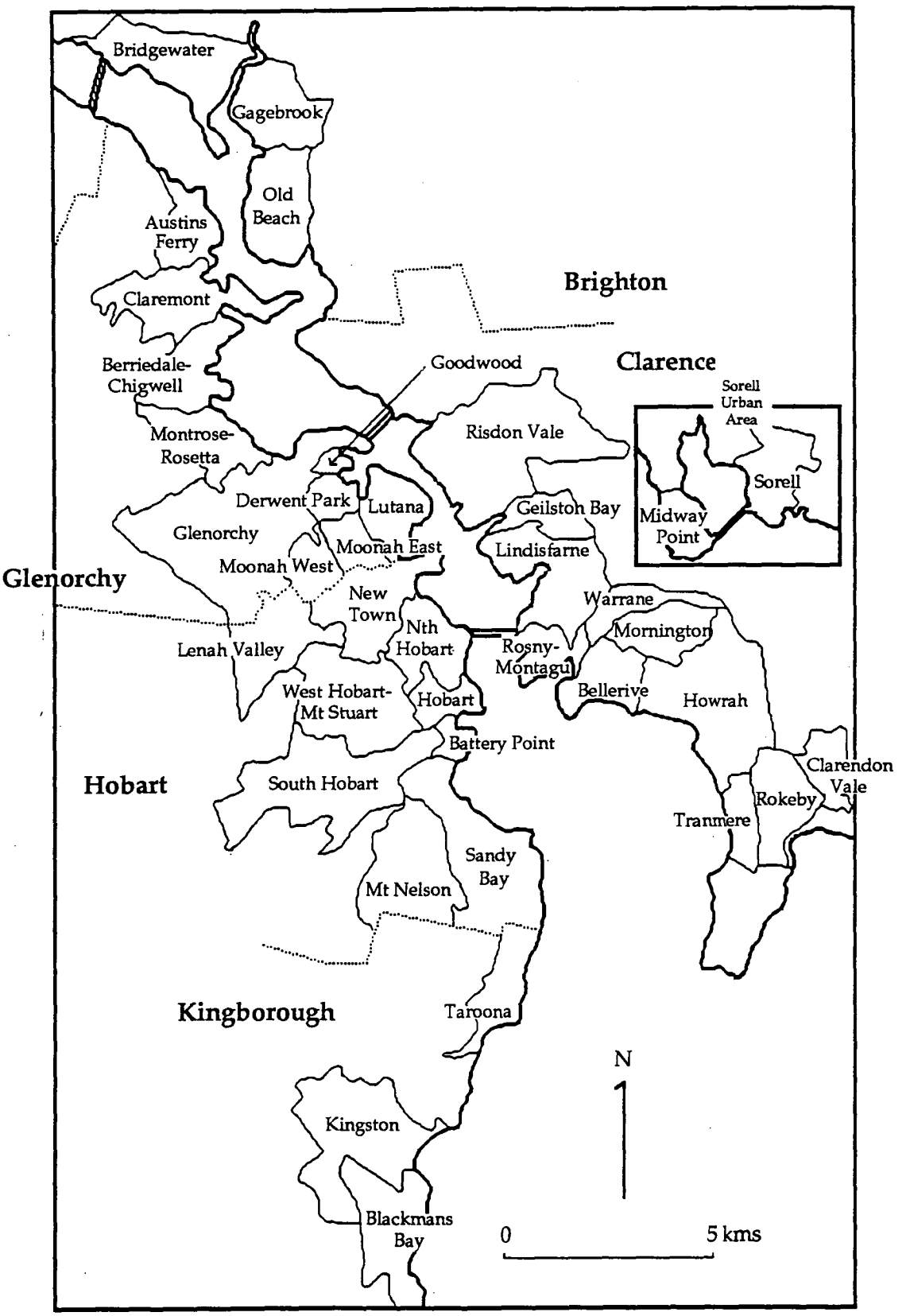


**Figure 6.2 Australian Bureau of Statistic's Southern Statistical Regions**

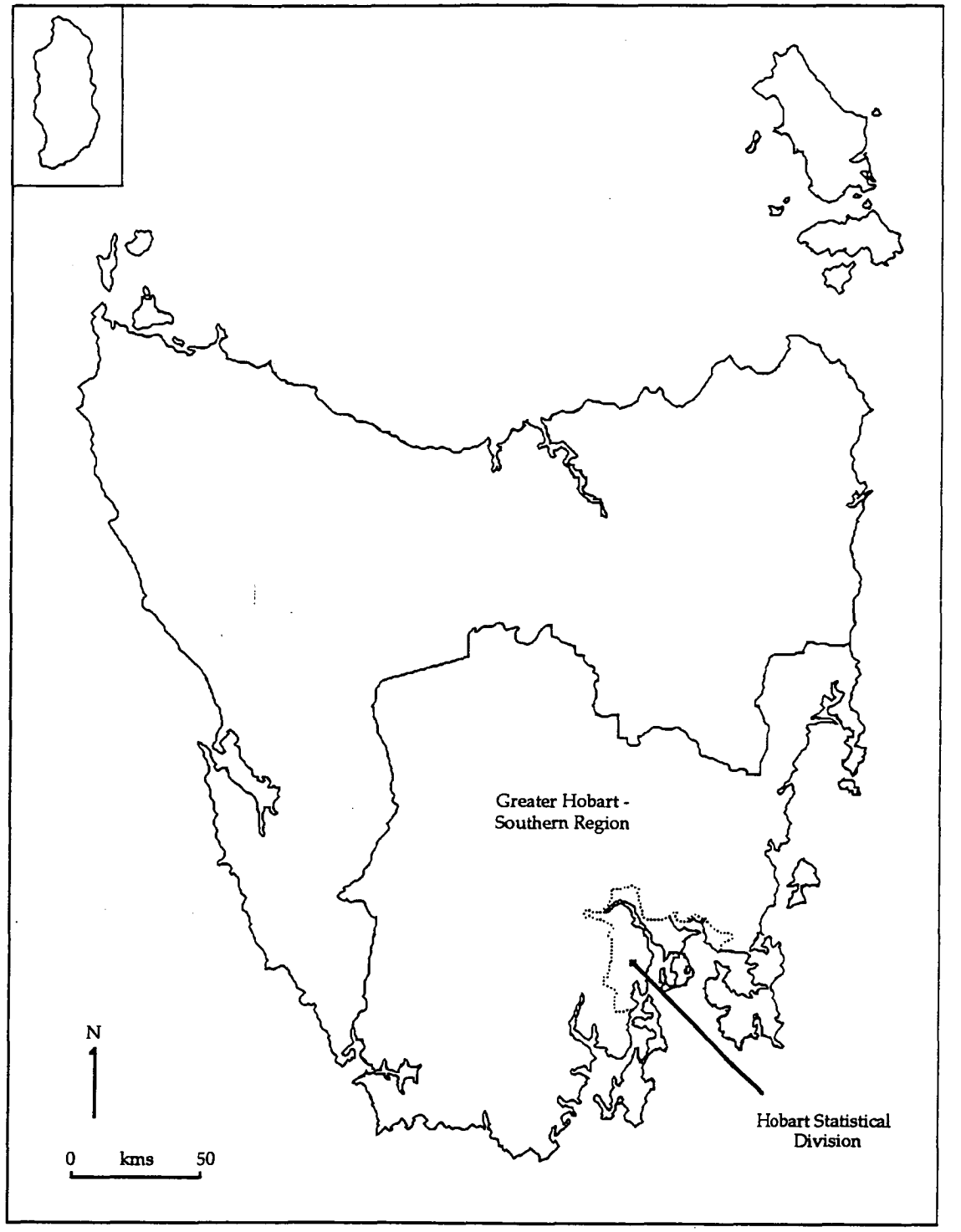
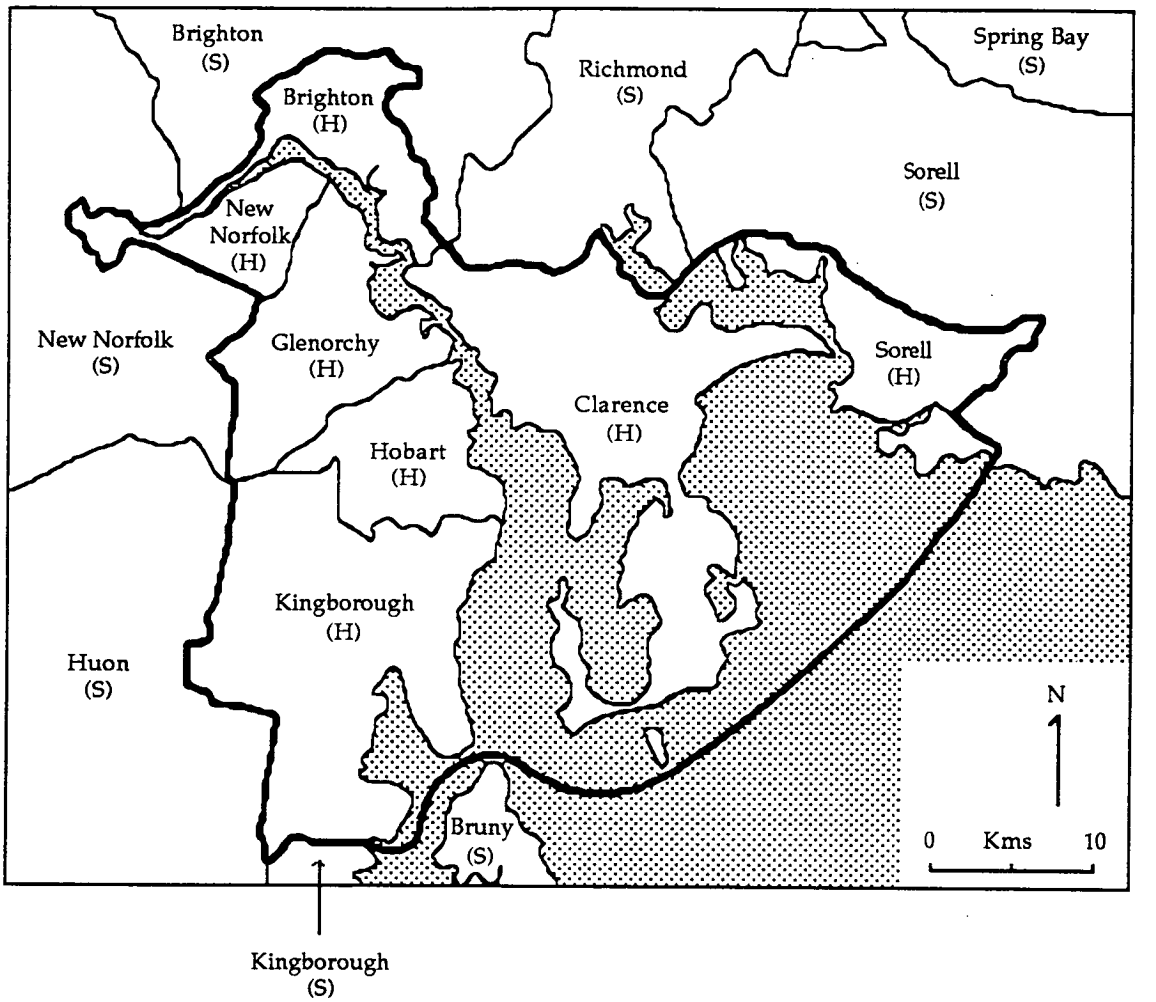


**Figure 6.3 Hobart Statistical Division in Relation to Included LGAs**




Division Boundary

LGA Boundary

(H) Hobart Statistical Division

(S) Southern Statistical Division

Source: Wilde (1988)

**Table 6.1 Population Growth for Southern Statistical Regions 1976 - 1990**

| | | | | | % Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 | 1990 | 1976-1990 |
| Hobart Statistical Division | 164 400 | 171 100 | 179 000 | 183 600 | 11.68 |
| Southern Statistical Division | 30 300 | 30 000 | 32 900 | 34 400 | 13.53 |
| Greater Hobart/Southern Region | 194 700 | 201 100 | 212 000 | 218 000 | 11.97 |

Source: ABS Census 1986 Catalogue No. 2202.6, ABS Social Report Tasmania 1991

**Table 6.2 Hobart Population Growth by Urban and Semiurban Area 1971-1986**

| 1971 | | | 1986 | | | 1971-1986 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Urban | Semiurban | Total | Urban | Semiurban | Total | Per cent |
| 133926 | 31829 | 165755 | 149574 | 49960 | 199534 | |
| * | | | * | | | 11.6 % |
| | * | | | * | | 56.9 % |
| | | * | | | * | 20.3 % |

Source: Census 1971-1986

semiurban area of the Eastern Beaches is the focus in this study, semiurban areas need to be distinguished. The 'Greater Hobart area' refers to both Hobart's urban and semiurban extent.

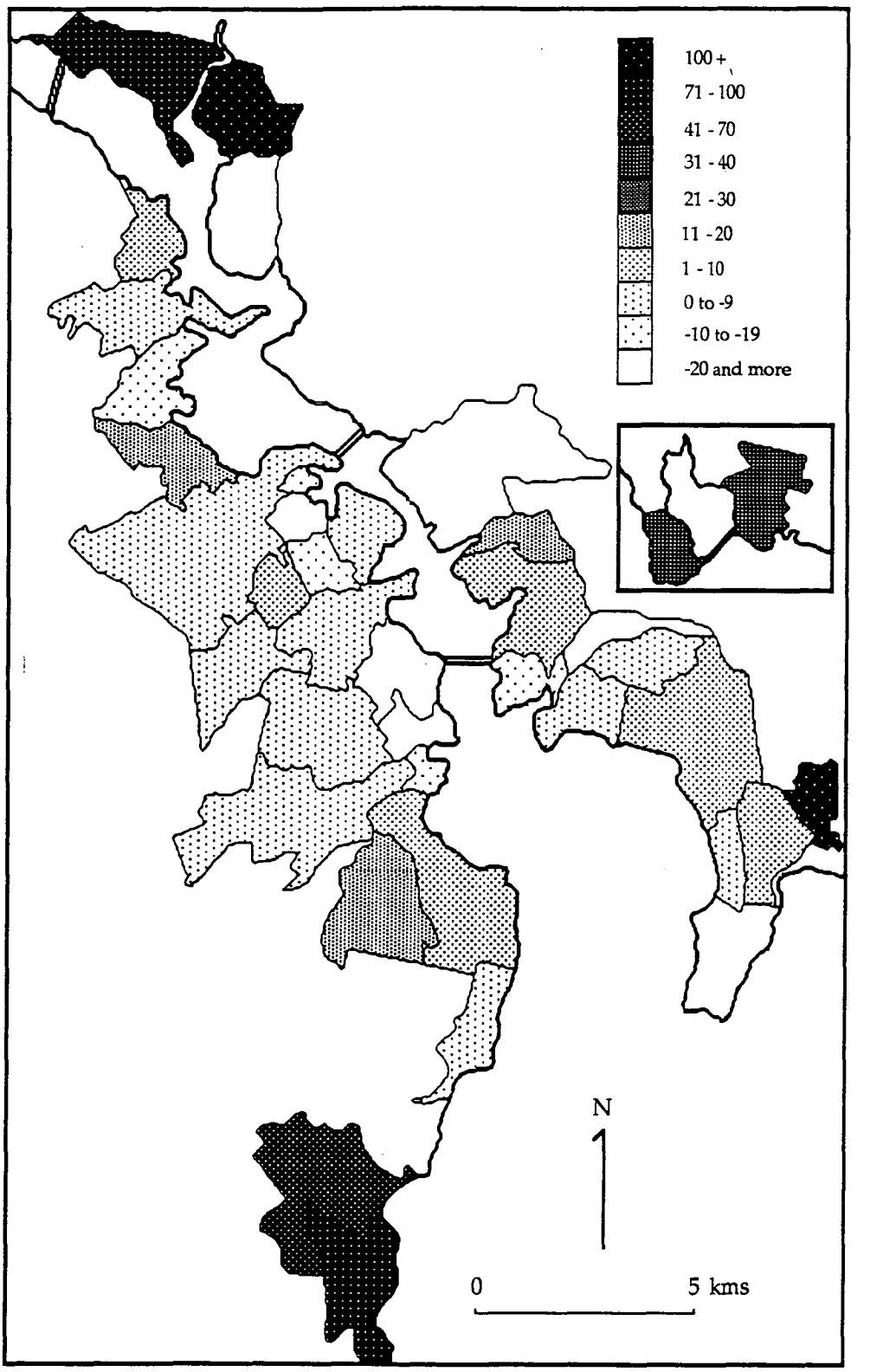
The Hobart Local Government Area's (LGA) core urban areas have been declining in population since 1971, Glenorchy's since 1976 and Clarence's since 1981 (Table 6.3 [data are for totalled urban areas within LGA boundaries given in Figure 6.1]). Hobart's urban population trends between 1976 and 1986 are given in Figure 6.4 and Table 6.4. Inner urban areas are declining in population, while outer urban areas, notably the public housing areas of Gagebrook and Clarendon Vale, are increasing in population.

**Table 6.3 Population Growth for Hobart LGAs and Hobart's Urban Total 1971 - 1986**

| | | | | | % Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1971 | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 | 1971-1986 |
| Clarence LGA | 33 663 | 37 461 | 38 434 | 37 958 | 12.76 |
| Glenorchy LGA | 39 091 | 41 462 | 40 138 | 39 842 | 1.92 |
| Hobart LGA | 51 741 | 49 642 | 47 187 | 46 515 | -10.1 |
| Sub-total | 124 495 | 128 565 | 125 759 | 124 315 | -0.14 |
| Hobart Urban Total | 133 926 | 142 896 | 146 583 | 149 574 | 11.68 |

Source: ABS Census 1986 Catalogue No. 2202.6, ABS Social Report Tasmania 1991

**Figure 6.4 Hobart's Urban Population Change 1976 - 1986 (%)**




Source: Kennedy *et al.* (1986)

Table 6.4 Hobart Urban Areas Population Change 1976 - 1986 (%)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Austins Ferry | 9.4 | Lutana | -1.2 |
| Battery Point | -15.8 | Montrose-Rosetta | 19.9 |
| Bellerive | -3.1 | Moonah East | -15.8 |
| Berriedale-Chigwell | -16.8 | Moonah West | 4.6 |
| Blackmans Bay | 81 | Mornington | -5.1 |
| Bridgewater | 91.1 | Mount Nelson | 11.9 |
| Claremont | -1.6 | New Town | -6.1 |
| Clarendon Vale | 791.1 | North Hobart | -20.1 |
| Derwent Park | -27.5 | Risdon Vale | -21.4 |
| Gagebrook | 1788.3 | Rokeby | 10.8 |
| Geilston Bay | 11.8 | Rosny-Montagu Bay | -18.5 |
| Glenorchy | -4.5 | Sandy Bay | 1.6 |
| Goodwood | -16.3 | Sorell-Midway Point | 32 |
| Hobart | -23.8 | South Hobart | -7 |
| Howrah | 3.7 | Taroona | -5.7 |
| Kingston | 69.7 | Tranmere | -7.3 |
| Lenah Valley | -6.7 | Warrane | -22.9 |
| Lindisfarne | 4 | West Hobart-Mount Stuart | -8.4 |

Source: Kennedy *et al.* (1986)

Population growth in Kingborough and Blackmans Bay has also been buoyed by public housing development. Hobart's total urban population, including all housing on reticulated water and sewage, increased by approximately 11 per cent between 1971 and 1986.

The bulk of Hobart's recent population growth has occurred beyond the reach of reticulated water and sewage. Table 6.5 identifies some of the main areas of Hobart's semiurban population growth. Fringe urban municipalities given in Table 6.3 are shown in Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.6, while specific semiurban growth areas within the municipalities of Clarence and Kingborough are shown in Figure 6.7. Brighton and Sorell LGAs between 1971 and 1990, and the semiurban areas of Clifton/Cremorne, Seven Mile Beach, South Arm and Cambridge between 1971 and 1986 all more than doubled in population. Hobart's semiurban population increased by more than 50 per cent between 1971 and 1986.

The Sorell municipality experienced approximately an 80 per cent increase in population between 1976 and 1990 (Table 6.6). Between 1976 and 1991 the population of the Eastern Beaches increased by approximately 160 per cent. The Eastern Beaches share of the Sorell municipality's total population rose by approximately 10 per cent between 1976 and 1990/91, from 23 per cent to 33 per cent. Population growth in other semiurban areas of the Sorell municipality, such as Connellys Marsh, increased by an average of approximately 13 per cent per annum between 1981 and 1986.

**Table 6.5 Semiurban Component of Hobart's Population Growth 1971-1990**

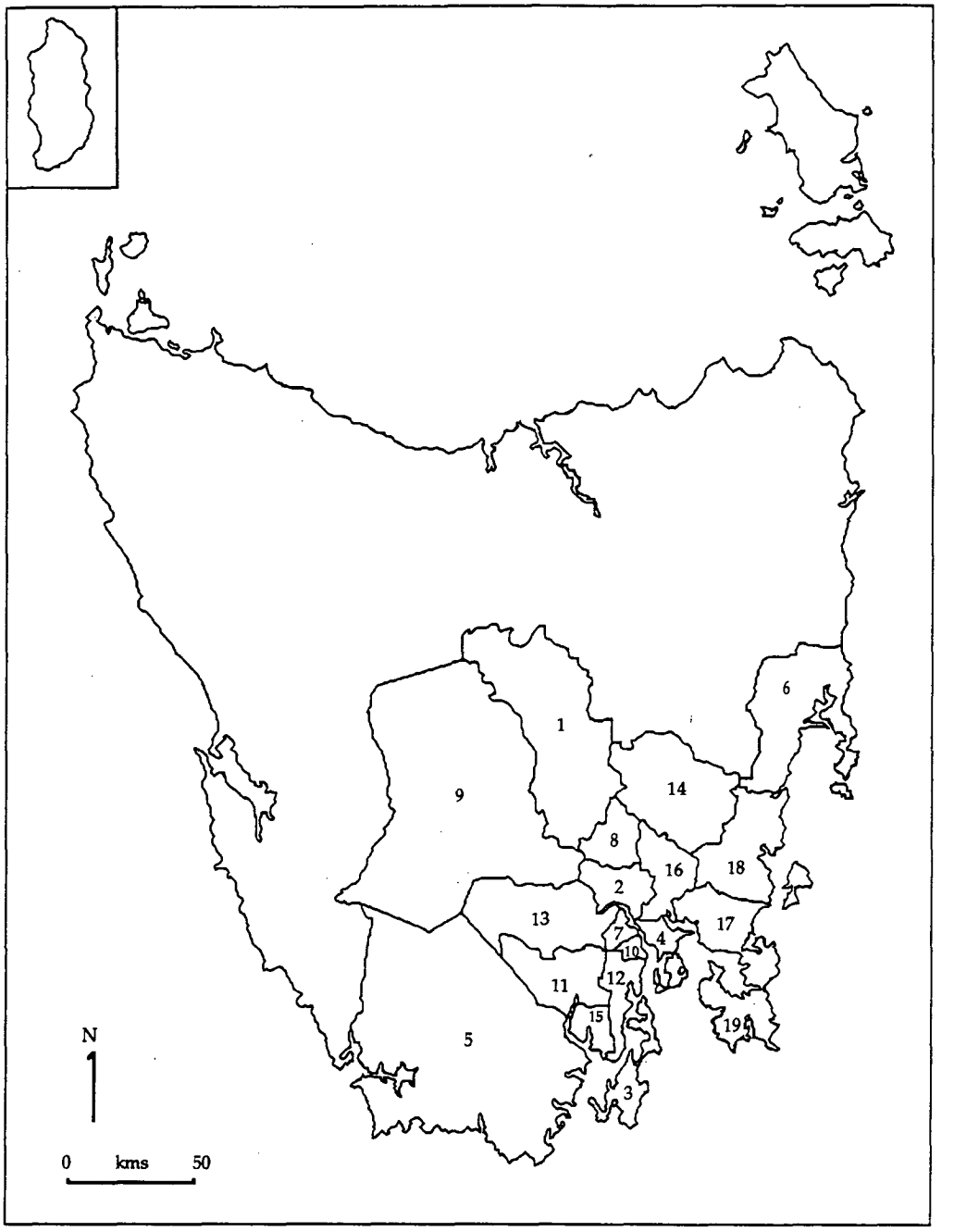
| | No. | Ave% pa | No. | Ave% pa | No. | Ave% pa | No. | % Total | Ave% pa | No. | % Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1971 | 1971-76 | 1976 | 1976-81 | 1981 | 1981-86 | 1986 | 1971-1986 | 1986-90 | 1990 | 1971-1990 |
| Brighton* | 2333 | 22.24 | 4927 | 18.32 | 9441 | 4.72 | 11669 | 400.17 | 1.89 | 12770 | 447.36 |
| Cambridge | 219 | 1.46 | 235 | 2.47 | 264 | 14.09 | 450 | 105.48 | | | |
| Clifton/Cremorne | 498 | 8.07 | 699 | 9.3 | 1024 | 7.32 | 1399 | 180.92 | | | |
| Green Ponds* | 881 | -0.73 | 849 | 3.16 | 983 | 2.12 | 1087 | 23.38 | 1.53 | 1170 | 32.8 |
| Huon* | 4756 | -0.04 | 4747 | -0.19 | 4703 | 1.38 | 5028 | 5.72 | 2.16 | 5570 | 17.12 |
| Kettering/Woodbridge | 742 | -0.13 | 737 | 4.12 | 889 | 2.83 | 1015 | 36.79 | | | |
| Lauderdale | 1329 | 8.31 | 1881 | 2.51 | 2117 | 2.23 | 2353 | 77.05 | | | |
| Margate/Snug | 1475 | 2.56 | 1664 | 2.44 | 1867 | 1.9 | 2044 | 38.58 | | | |
| Middleton | 292 | 1.92 | 320 | 2.69 | 363 | 2.92 | 416 | 42.47 | | | |
| New Norfolk* | 10613 | -0.9 | 10135 | -1.02 | 9617 | 0.45 | 9832 | -7.36 | 0.55 | 10100 | -4.83 |
| Port Cygnet* | 2070 | -0.58 | 2010 | 1.73 | 2184 | 4.73 | 2701 | 30.48 | 2.51 | 3040 | 46.86 |
| Richmond* | 1579 | 0.84 | 1645 | 1.74 | 1788 | 2.96 | 2053 | 30.02 | 2.02 | 2260 | 43.13 |
| Sandfly | 654 | -0.03 | 653 | 8.18 | 920 | 7.67 | 1273 | 94.65 | | | |
| Seven Mile Beach | 479 | 6.89 | 644 | 9.75 | 958 | 5.55 | 1224 | 155.53 | | | |
| Sorell* | 3636 | 3.66 | 4301 | 4.38 | 5243 | 5.87 | 6782 | 86.52 | 2.85 | 7750 | 113.15 |
| South Arm | 273 | 4.4 | 333 | 6.31 | 438 | 8.95 | 634 | 132.23 | | | |
| **Sub-Total** | **31 829** | **2.48** | **35 780** | **3.92** | **42 799** | **3.35** | **49 960** | **56.9** | | | |
| **Hobart Urban Total** | **133 926** | **1.34** | **142 896** | **0.52** | **146 583** | **0.41** | **149 574** | **11.68** | | | |
| **Total** | **165 755** | **1.56** | **178 676** | **1.2** | **189 382** | **1.07** | **199 534** | **20.38** | | | |

* LGA
Other Regions - Collectors District Totals

Source: Census 1971-1986, ABS Population Projection 1990

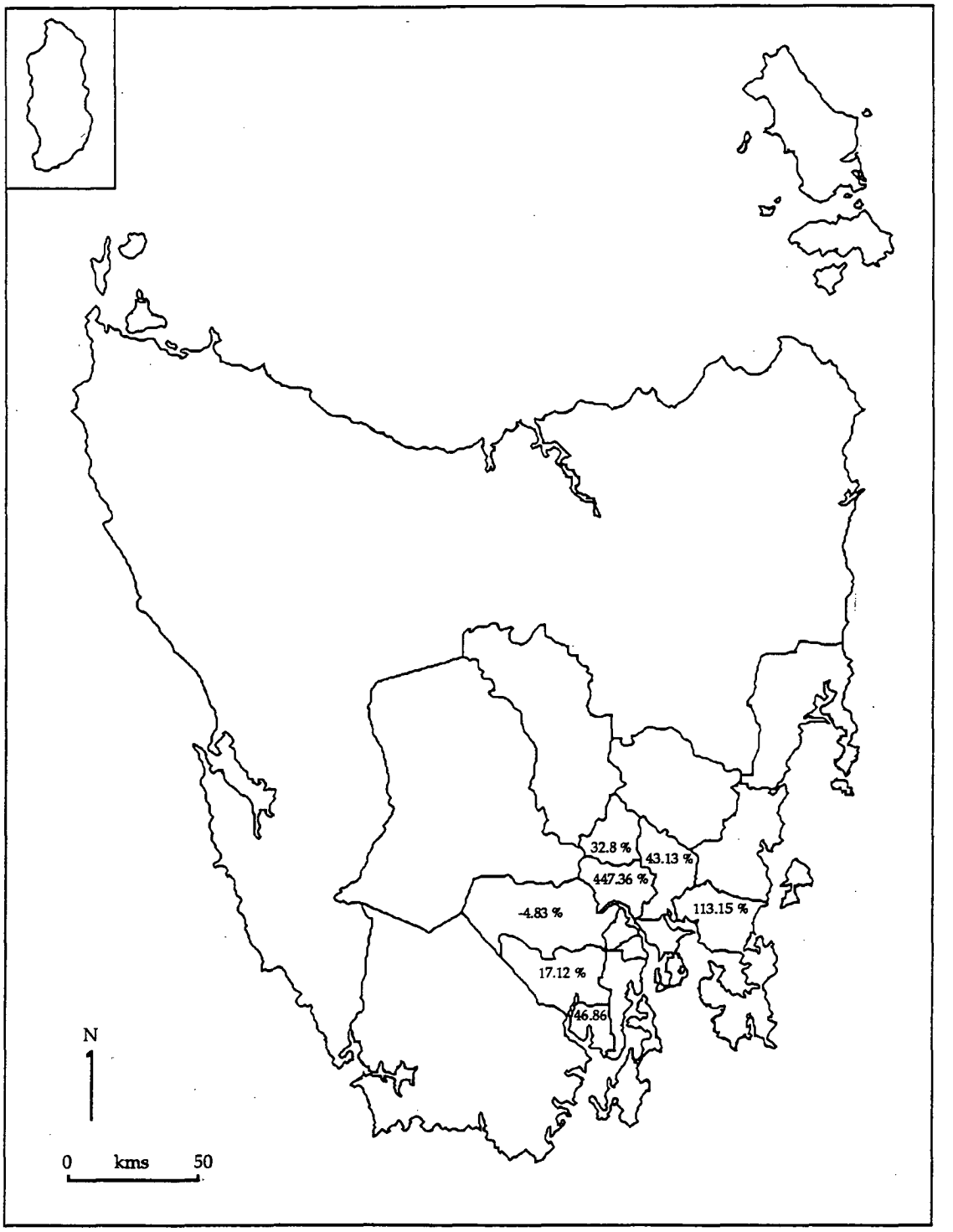
The percentage of a labour force of a semiurban area which is employed in Hobart is one measure which can be used to assess the degree to which a semiurban area is linked to Hobart. Employment location in Hobart for southern Statistical Local Areas is given in Table 6.7. The employment location in Hobart of areas such as Brighton and Sorell is comparable with the more developed and better serviced area of Kingborough which is closer to Hobart. Richmond and Green Ponds also have a high level of employment location in Hobart. Unfortunately, journey to work data are not comparable over time. Table 6.8, therefore, can only give population growth between 1971 and 1986 and employment location in Hobart for 1986.

**Figure 6.5 Tasmania's Southern Region Municipalities**




1. Bothwell
2. Brighton
3. Bruny
4. Clarence
5. Esperance
6. Glamorgan
7. Glenorchy
8. Green Ponds
9. Hamilton
10. Hobart
11. Huon
12. Kingborough
13. New Norfolk
14. Oatlands
15. Port Cygnet
16. Richmond
17. Sorell
18. Spring Bay
19. Tasman

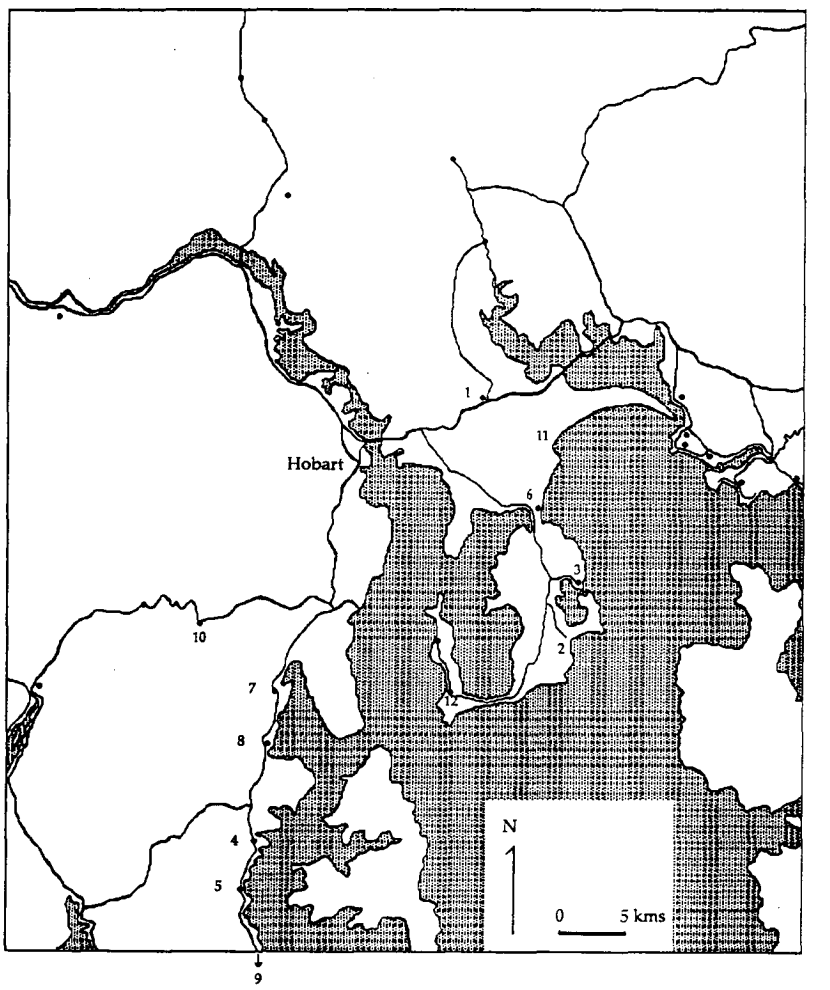
**Figure 6.6 Hobart's Semiurban Municipalities' Population Growth 1971 - 1990**




Source: Census 1971-1986, ABS Population Projection 1990

## Figure 6.7 Clarence and Kingborough Municipalities' Specific Area Population Growth 1971 - 1986 (Approximate Per Cent)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2/3 | - | Clifton/Cremorne | 180 |
| 11 | - | Seven Mile Beach | 155 |
| 12 | - | South Arm | 132 |
| 1 | - | Cambridge | 105 |
| 10 | - | Sandfly | 94 |
| 6 | - | Lauderdale | 77 |
| 9 | - | Middleton | 42 |
| 7/8 | - | Margate/Snug | 38 |
| 4/5 | - | Kettering/Woodbridge | 36 |




Source: ABS Collectors District Data 1971-1986

**Table 6.6 Eastern Beaches as a Proportion of the Sorell Local Government Area 1976-1991**

| | No. | Ave% pa | No. | Ave% pa | No. | Ave% pa | No. | % Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1976 | 1976-81 | 1981 | 1981-86 | 1986 | 1986-91 | 1990/91 | 1976-1991 |
| Eastern Beaches | 999 | 10.24 | 1511 | 5.38 | 1918 | 7.08 | 2598* | 160.06 |
| Sorell Township/Midway Point | 2183 | 3.31 | 2544 | 2.66 | 2882 | - | - | 32.02 |
| Rest Sorell LGA | 1119 | 1.23 | 1188 | 13.37 | 1982 | - | - | 77.12 |
| Sorell LGA | 4301 | 4.38 | 5243 | 5.87 | 6782 | 2.85 | 7750# | 80.19 |
| Eastern Beaches as a proportion of Sorell LGA (%) | 23.23 | | 28.82 | | 28.28 | | 33.52 | - |

* 1991
# 1990

Source: ABS Eastern Beaches Collectors Districts 1976-1986, Sorell Council Rate Records 1991

**Table 6.7 Southern SLAs: Employment Location in Hobart (%)**

| | Empl. Location in Hobart* |
|---|---|
| Brighton A | 67 |
| Brighton B | 54 |
| Clarence | 93 |
| Glenorchy | 92 |
| Green Ponds | 48 |
| Hobart Inner | 72 |
| Hobart Remainder | 91 |
| Huon | 27 |
| Kingborough A | 67 |
| Kingborough B | 45 |
| New Norfolk A | 18 |
| New Norfolk B | 17 |
| Port Cygnet | 20 |
| Richmond | 49 |
| Sorell A | 70 |
| Sorell B | 35 |

* Clarence, Glenorchy, Hobart Inner, Hobart Remainder and Hobart Undefined

Note; A - Urban/Town Boundary
B - Rural/Semiurban Remainder

Source: Census 1986

## Table 6.8 Hobart Semiurban Population Growth and Employment Location in Hobart (%)

| | 1971-1986 Pop. Growth | 1986 Empl. Loc. Hobart |
|---|---|---|
| Brighton LGA | 400.17 | |
| **Brighton A SLA** | | **67** |
| **Brighton B SLA** | | **54** |
| Cambridge | 105.48 | |
| Clifton/Cremorne | 180.92 | |
| Lauderdale | 77.05 | |
| Seven Mile Beach | 155.53 | |
| South Arm | 132.23 | |
| **Clarence SLA** | | **93** |
| Green Ponds LGA | 23.38 | |
| **Green Ponds SLA** | | **48** |
| Huon LGA | 5.72 | |
| **Huon SLA** | | **27** |
| Kettering/Woodbridge | 36.79 | |
| Margate/Snug | 38.58 | |
| Middleton | 42.47 | |
| Sandfly | 94.65 | |
| **Kingston B SLA** | | **45** |
| New Norfolk LGA | -7.36 | |
| **New Norfolk A SLA** | | **18** |
| **New Norfolk B SLA** | | **17** |
| Port Cygnet LGA | 30.48 | |
| **Port Cygnet SLA** | | **20** |
| Richmond LGA | 30.02 | |
| **Richmond SLA** | | **49** |
| Sorell LGA | 86.52 | |
| **Sorell A SLA** | | **70** |
| **Sorell B SLA** | | **35** |

LGA - Local Government Area
SLA - Statistical Local Area
A - Urban/Town Boundary
B - Rural/Semiurban Remainder

Source: Census 1971-1986

## 6.2 LAND, HOUSING AND INCOME TRENDS IN AND AROUND HOBART

Population statistics in Section 6.1 reveal growth in Hobart's semiurban population. Journey to work figures show that this growth is commuter based, relying upon Hobart for employment, schooling, shopping and so on. One of the primary attractions of outlying areas is cheap land and housing. Table 6.9 gives average house prices asked for houses for sale by urban and semiurban area for 1981 and 1990 (Figure 6.8 gives the location of Hobart's major semiurban areas). Urban and semiurban areas are arranged so that average house prices for 1990 are in ascending order. Primrose Sands and Park Beach are the cheapest semiurban areas within the Greater Hobart area. They are also the cheapest private residential areas in the Greater Hobart area. Housing in the Eastern Beaches is cheaper for three main reasons: first, the Eastern Beaches is isolated from employment and services; secondly, there are few services (and thus their associated costs) available in the Eastern Beaches; and, finally, the standard of much of the housing (often ex–holiday homes) and physical infrastructure is lower than in urban areas due to the less strict enforcement of regulations regarding building and works. The approximate 123 per cent rise in the price of land and housing in the Eastern Beaches between 1981 and 1990 is below the average for the Greater Hobart area of 142 per cent. In short, land and housing in the Eastern Beaches was amongst the cheapest within the Greater Hobart area in 1981; by 1990, however, it appeared to be even cheaper due to lower land and housing price rises (though these rises were difficult to justify given the lack of services available in the Eastern Beaches). This scenario, however, masks an underlying low income house price trend which indicates that land and housing in the Eastern Beaches is becoming more expensive than land and housing in low priced urban areas such as Warrane (see below).

The distribution of house prices by area indicates the varied nature, both within and between semiurban areas. For example, the 1990 average house price for Carlton of $97 788 is somewhat anomalous in that it does not reflect the predominantly lower priced housing available in the area. Though Carlton has many lower priced homes, it also has homes to the value of approximately $200 000. Hence, Carlton's average house price is inflated by only a handful of highly priced homes and therefore does not reflect the predominant character of the area. The median 1990 house price for Carlton is $62 500. Table 6.10 gives both median and average house prices for 1990 for Hobart's urban and semiurban areas. Urban and semiurban areas are given so that median house prices for 1990 are in ascending order. Significant difference between median and average is due

## Table 6.9 Average Asked House Price Increase for Hobart's Urban and Semiurban Areas 1981 - 1990

| | 1981 | | 1990 | | 1981-90 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area | No. Homes | Ave House Price | No. Homes | Ave House Price | Per cent Increase |
| Gagebrook | - | - | 2 | 44500 | - |
| Clarendon Vale | - | - | 5 | 47170 | - |
| Risdon Vale | 18 | 23401 | 17 | 48511 | 107.3 |
| *Primrose Sands* | *14* | *25747* | *18* | *50486* | *96* |
| Warrane | 6 | 24483 | 9 | 51300 | 109.5 |
| Bridgewater | 7 | 27797 | 24 | 51829 | 86.4 |
| *Park Beach* | *5* | *27200* | *1* | *52950* | *94.6* |
| Rokeby | 18 | 35062 | 22 | 58409 | 66.5 |
| Goodwood | 6 | 26600 | 4 | 59750 | 124.6 |
| Chigwell | 11 | 28369 | 11 | 59818 | 110.8 |
| Lutana | 8 | 36425 | 14 | 65986 | 81.1 |
| Derwent Park | 4 | 40750 | 4 | 66000 | 61.9 |
| Mornington | 15 | 34758 | 16 | 69150 | 98.9 |
| Claremont | 40 | 35240 | 20 | 69293 | 96.6 |
| *New Norfolk* | *14* | *32960* | *20* | *73017* | *121.5* |
| Moonah | 52 | 36019 | 22 | 73348 | 103.6 |
| *Lewisham* | *11* | *49765* | *10* | *75080* | *50.8* |
| Midway Point | 23 | 34496 | 20 | 76788 | 122.6 |
| *Dodges Ferry* | *23* | *28006* | *22* | *79120* | *182.5* |
| Glenorchy | 59 | 36310 | 21 | 79714 | 119.5 |
| North Hobart | 17 | 32463 | 20 | 80970 | 149.4 |
| *Kettering* | *3* | *32750* | *7* | *81929* | *150.1* |
| Montrose | 12 | 40275 | 20 | 83575 | 107.5 |
| *Snug* | *2* | *31750* | *10* | *84800* | *167* |
| *Huonville* | *6* | *33208* | *20* | *85300* | *156.8* |
| *South Arm* | *9* | *34125* | *20* | *85803* | *151.4* |
| Sorell | 8 | 41095 | 11 | 88814 | 116.1 |
| Austins Ferry | 11 | 51012 | 20 | 91060 | 78.5 |
| *Woodbridge* | *2* | *47250* | *5* | *91180* | *92.9* |
| *Brighton* | *2* | *36250* | *19* | *92518* | *155.2* |
| *Bagdad* | *8* | *32656* | *5* | *92800* | *184.1* |
| Montagu Bay | 9 | 42143 | 3 | 94500 | 124.2 |
| Hobart | 21 | 33753 | 20 | 94550 | 180.1 |
| West Moonah | 37 | 43228 | 20 | 95817 | 121.6 |
| *Carlton* | *19* | *28061* | *16* | *97788* | *248.4* |
| Geilston Bay | 15 | 41377 | 20 | 98058 | 136.9 |
| *Mangalore* | *1* | *65000* | *2* | *99750* | *53.4* |
| Berriedale | 19 | 40299 | 21 | 101105 | 150.8 |
| West Hobart | 32 | 42292 | 20 | 101568 | 140.1 |
| Blackmans Bay | 56 | 47120 | 21 | 101967 | 116.4 |
| South Hobart | 28 | 36240 | 20 | 104470 | 188.2 |
| Lenah Valley | 42 | 60240 | 20 | 104525 | 73.5 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bellerive | 19 | 44647 | 20 | 104885 | 134.9 |
| Lindisfarne | 47 | 45559 | 20 | 106483 | 133.7 |
| Old Beach | 3 | 64112 | 20 | 107795 | 68.1 |
| ***Lower Longley*** | ***1*** | ***18000*** | ***4*** | ***108000*** | ***500*** |
| New Town | 48 | 39082 | 20 | 111142 | 184.3 |
| ***Margate*** | ***2*** | ***60750*** | ***20*** | ***112000*** | ***84.3*** |
| Mt Nelson | 19 | 49592 | 20 | 120050 | 142 |
| ***Lauderdale*** | ***39*** | ***40346*** | ***20*** | ***121973*** | ***202.3*** |
| Mt Stuart | 20 | 53451 | 20 | 122075 | 128.3 |
| Rosetta | 13 | 45662 | 21 | 127357 | 178.9 |
| Rosny | 1 | 37000 | 8 | 139750 | 277.7 |
| Howrah | 40 | 51391 | 20 | 144724 | 181.6 |
| ***Sandfly*** | ***1*** | ***50000*** | ***2*** | ***148000*** | ***196*** |
| Tranmere | 4 | 54862 | 9 | 150278 | 173.9 |
| ***Cremorne*** | ***5*** | ***47825*** | ***8*** | ***151125*** | ***216*** |
| Taroona | 24 | 67033 | 20 | 160075 | 138.8 |
| ***Cambridge*** | ***1*** | ***27500*** | ***5*** | ***170200*** | ***518.9*** |
| Sandy Bay | 101 | 68200 | 49 | 177539 | 160.3 |
| Kingston | 43 | 49401 | 20 | 182570 | 269.5 |
| Battery Point | 7 | 37322 | 15 | 201650 | 440.3 |

***Bold/Italic*** - Semiurban area

## Figure 6.8 Hobart's Major Semiurban Areas

1 - Bagdad
2 - Brighton
3 - Cambridge
4 - Campania
5 - Carlton
6 - Connellys Marsh
7 - Cremorne
8 - Dodges Ferry
9 - Huonville
10 - Kettering
11 - Lauderdale
12 - Lewisham
13 - Lower Longley
14 - Mangalore
15 - Margate
16 - New Norfolk
17 - Opossum Bay
18 - Park Beach
19 - Primrose Sands
20 - Richmond
21 - Sandfly
22 - South Arm
23 - Snug
24 - Woodbridge

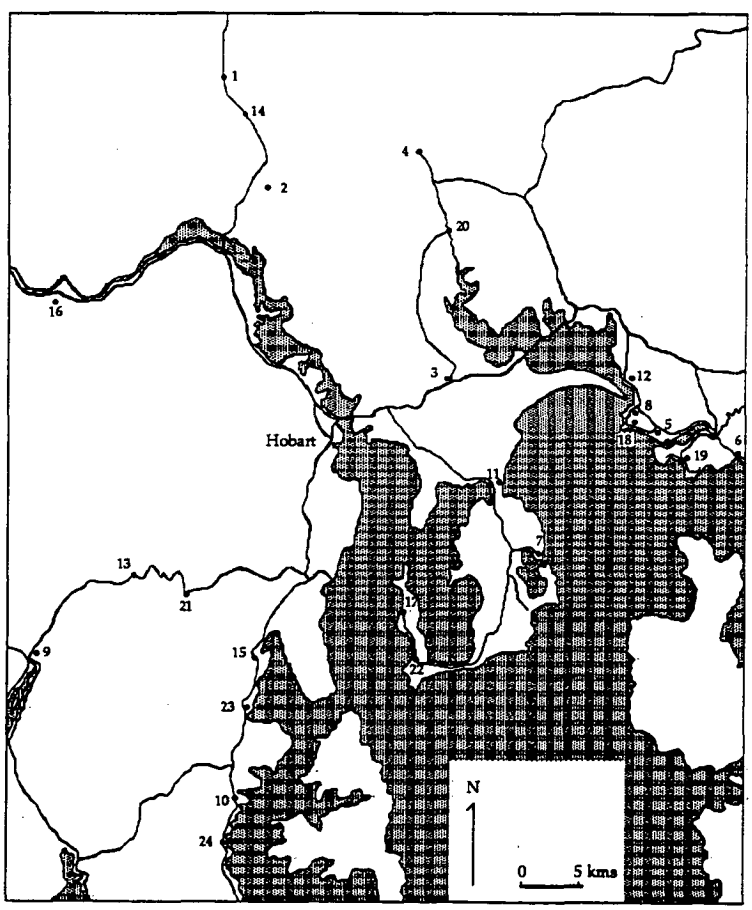


**Table 6.10 Median and Average House Prices for Hobart's Urban and Semiurban Areas 1990**

| Area | Median | Average | Median - Average |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gagebrook | 44500 | 44500 | 0 |
| Clarendon Vale | 45950 | 47170 | -1220 |
| Risdon Vale | 47500 | 48511 | -1011 |
| *Primrose Sands* | *48500* | *50486* | *-1986* |
| Warrane | 49950 | 51300 | -1350 |
| Bridgewater | 51000 | 51829 | -829 |
| *Park Beach* | *52950* | *52950* | *0* |
| Rokeby | 56726 | 58409 | -1683 |
| Goodwood | 58000 | 59750 | -1750 |
| *New Norfolk* | *59725* | *73017* | *-13292* |
| Mornington | 59900 | 69150 | -9250 |
| Chigwell | 61500 | 59818 | 1682 |
| *Carlton* | *62500* | *97788* | *-35288* |
| Derwent Park | 65000 | 66000 | -1000 |
| Lutana | 65000 | 65986 | -986 |
| *Bagdad* | *66000* | *92800* | *-26800* |
| *Dodges Ferry* | *68000* | *79120* | *-11120* |
| Claremont | 69500 | 69293 | 207 |
| *Lewisham* | *70000* | *75080* | *-5080* |
| Sorell | 72000 | 88814 | -16814 |
| *Snug* | *72000* | *84800* | *-12800* |
| Moonah | 74000 | 73348 | 652 |
| Glenorchy | 75000 | 79714 | -4714 |
| *South Arm* | *75975* | *85803* | *-9828* |
| Midway Point | 76975 | 76788 | 187 |
| *Kettering* | *77000* | *81929* | *-4929* |
| Montrose | 79000 | 83575 | -4575 |
| Blackmans Bay | 79900 | 101967 | -22067 |
| *Brighton* | *79950* | *92518* | *-12568* |
| Berriedale | 80000 | 101105 | -21105 |
| *Huonville* | *80000* | *85300* | *-5300* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| North Hobart | 80250 | 80970 | -720 |
| Montagu Bay | 86500 | 94500 | -8000 |
| West Moonah | 87250 | 95817 | -8567 |
| Austins Ferry | 91950 | 91060 | 890 |
| Bellerive | 93475 | 104885 | -11410 |
| ***Woodbridge*** | ***93900*** | ***91180*** | ***2720*** |
| Lenah Valley | 94000 | 104525 | -10525 |
| West Hobart | 94500 | 101568 | -7068 |
| South Hobart | 98000 | 104470 | -6470 |
| ***Mangalore*** | ***99750*** | ***99750*** | ***0*** |
| Geilston Bay | 99950 | 98058 | 1892 |
| Hobart | 101250 | 94550 | 6700 |
| ***Lower Longley*** | ***102000*** | ***108000*** | ***-6000*** |
| Lindisfarne | 103950 | 106483 | -2533 |
| New Town | 104750 | 111142 | -6392 |
| ***Lauderdale*** | ***105975*** | ***121973*** | ***-15998*** |
| Old Beach | 106000 | 107795 | -1795 |
| ***Margate*** | ***106250*** | ***112000*** | ***-5750*** |
| Kingston | 112500 | 182570 | -70070 |
| Mt Nelson | 115000 | 120050 | -5050 |
| Rosetta | 118000 | 127357 | -9357 |
| Taroona | 120000 | 160075 | -40075 |
| Mt Stuart | 125000 | 122075 | 2925 |
| Howrah | 128500 | 144724 | -16224 |
| ***Cremorne*** | ***130000*** | ***151125*** | ***-21125*** |
| Rosny | 138500 | 139750 | -1250 |
| ***Sandfly*** | ***148000*** | ***148000*** | ***0*** |
| Tranmere | 159000 | 150278 | 8722 |
| Sandy Bay | 167750 | 177539 | -9789 |
| ***Cambridge*** | ***198000*** | ***170200*** | ***27800*** |
| Battery Point | 215000 | 201650 | 13350 |

***Bold/Italic*** - Semiurban area

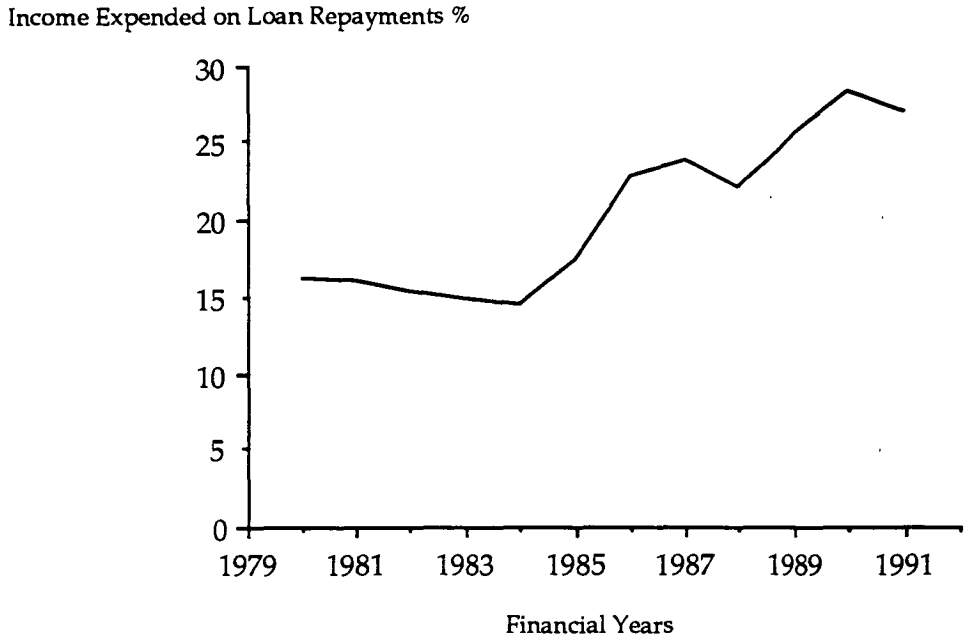
Source: "The Mercury" House Prices January - May 1990

to either the heterogeneity of housing values in an area (with markedly higher priced housing inflating the average of a low value housing area as in the case of Carlton) or the low number of homes recorded (for example, Bagdad). Heterogeneity is most likely in low value semiurban areas as variety in attraction draws a variety of households, from low income refugees fleeing the high priced Hobart housing market to high income quality of life retirees. Varying house values and block sizes can be found in any semiurban area. Thus, it is difficult to generalise about semiurban areas as the households which live in them can differ markedly, both within and between areas. (Average house prices are used as the basis for calculations in this chapter. Median house prices are given here as a reference for qualifying average based statistics.)

Figure 6.9 shows that the ratio of average mortgage repayments to median family income for Tasmania has increased over the 1980s. Figure 6.9 shows that the two sample points of prices asked for homes in "The Mercury" of January to May 1981 and January to May 1990 represent close to the low and high points of this ratio over time. Figure 6.10 shows the sample period January to May 1990 in more detail. Average loan repayments exceeded 25 per cent of median family income in December 1988 and peaked at approximately 28.5 per cent at the beginning of the 1990 sample period. Thus, the purchase of a home was at its least affordable during the 1990 sample period.

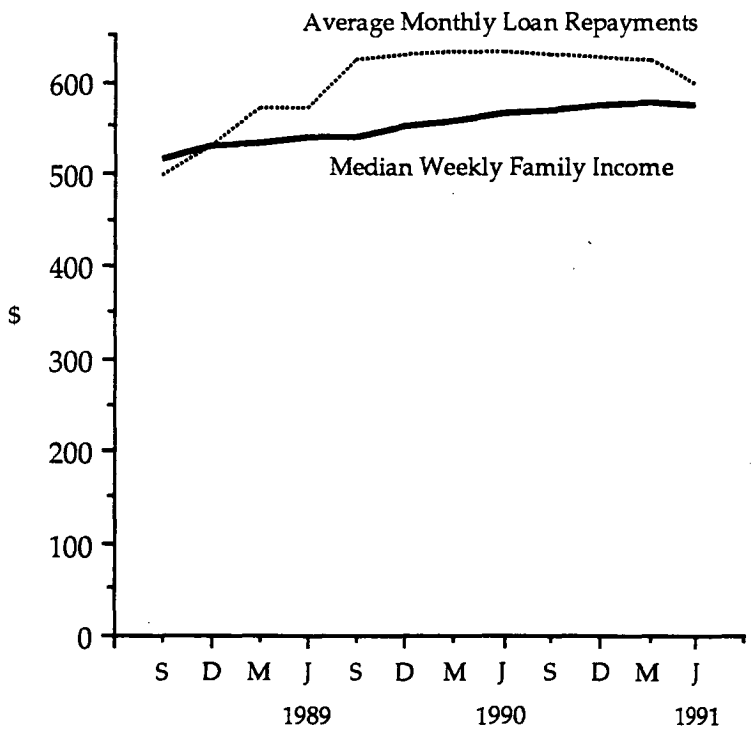
Annual threshold income per annum required to purchase a home in Hobart's urban and semiurban areas in 1990 is given in Figure 6.11, Table 6.11 and Figure 6.12. These statistics give the income required to service a standard credit foncier loan of 75 per cent of the average house value for each area with 25 per cent of income being contributed to repayments (for a discussion of this measure see Burke and Hayward [1990]). Within the Hobart urban area, home purchase in Bridgewater, Gagebrook, Risdon Vale, Warrane, Rokeby and Clarendon Vale only was within the means of families with the median family gross annual income of $30 699 in 1990. This is assuming that such families could save a 25 per cent deposit. The semiurban areas of Primrose Sands and Park Beach were also within the reach of families with the median family gross annual income of $30 699 in 1990. When faced with a choice between home purchase in a public housing area or home purchase in Primrose Sands many low income households chose the later (as evidensed by the interview survey presented in Chapter 7), despite the increased distances and lower level of services involved.

**Figure 6.9 Ratio of Average Mortgage Repayments to Median Family Income for Tasmania 1979/80 - 1990/91**



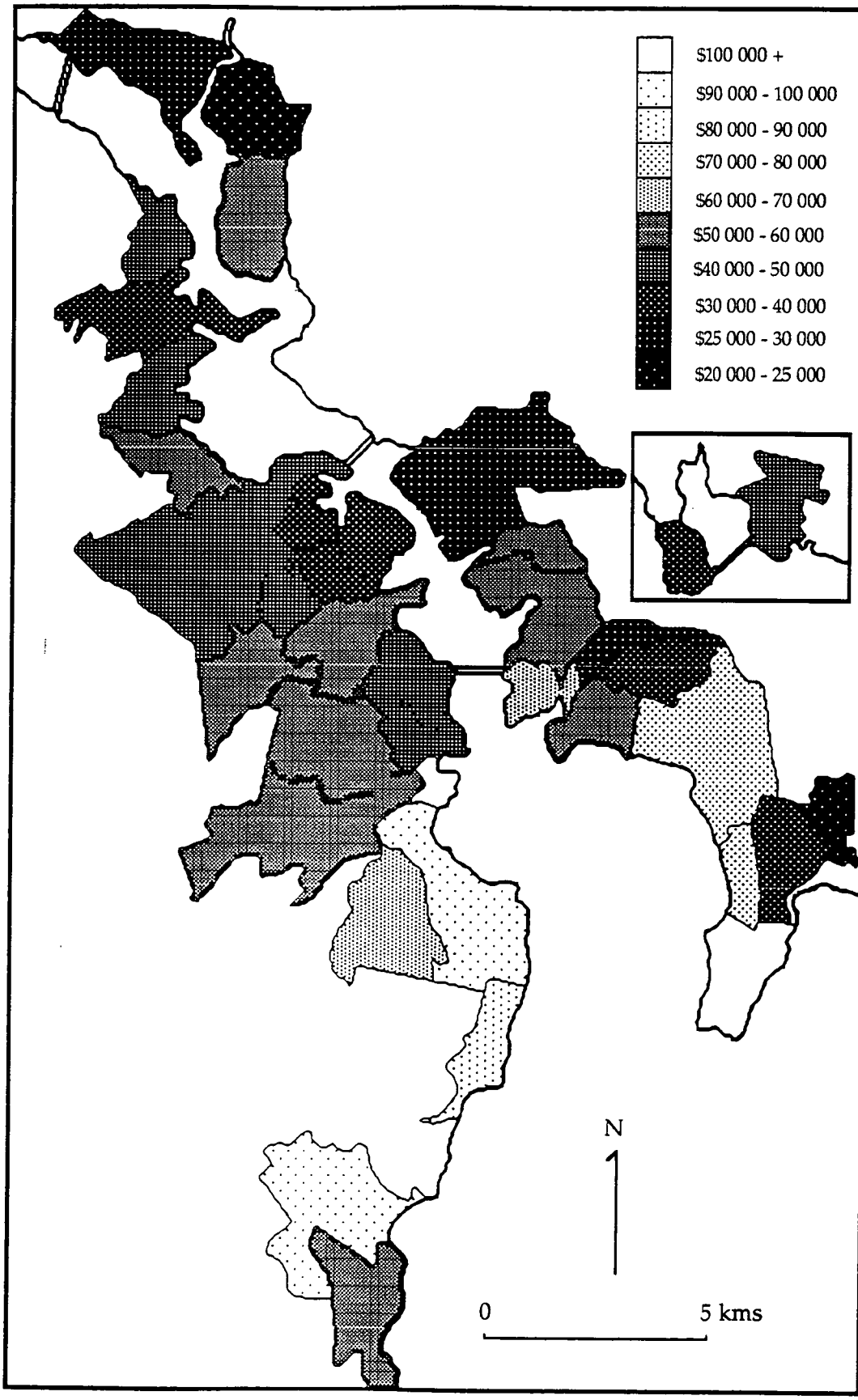

Source: Real Estate Institute of Australia Ltd Oct 1989 Professional Series No. 4 and 1991 Joint Quarterly Survey No. 27

**Figure 6.10 Average Monthly Mortgage Repayments and Median Weekly Family Income for Tasmania 1988/89 - 1990/91**




Source: Real Estate Institute of Australia Ltd 1991 Joint Quarterly Survey No. 27

**Figure 6.11** Annual Threshold Income Per Annum Required to Purchase a Home: Hobart Urban Areas (January - May 1990, 17 per cent interest rate)




Source: "The Mercury" House Prices January - May 1990, CBA Repayments Schedule

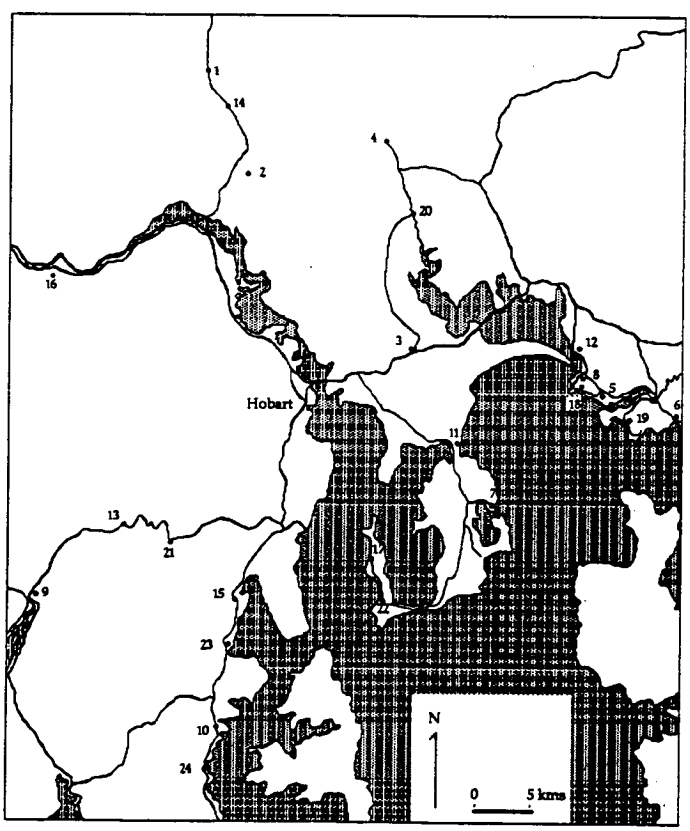
**Table 6.11 Annual Threshold Income Per Annum Required to Purchase a Home: Hobart Urban Areas (January - May 1990, 17 % Interest)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Austins Ferry | $47 157 | Midway Point | $39 759 |
| Battery Point | $104 388 | Montrose-Rosetta | $54 623 |
| Bellerive | $54 330 | Moonah East | $37 959 |
| Berriedale-Chigwell | $41 687 | Moonah West | $49 627 |
| Blackmans Bay | $52 817 | Mornington | $35 798 |
| Bridgewater | $26 877 | Mount Nelson | $62 194 |
| Claremont | $35 872 | New Town | $57 559 |
| Clarendon Vale | $24 460 | North Hobart | $41 928 |
| Derwent Park | $34 164 | Old Beach | $55 840 |
| Gagebrook | $23 076 | Risdon Vale | $25 156 |
| Geilston Bay | $50 789 | Rokeby | $30 273 |
| Glenorchy | $41 276 | Rosny-Montagu Bay | $60 643 |
| Goodwood | $30 969 | Sandy Bay | $91 906 |
| Hobart | $48 970 | Sorell | $45 996 |
| Howrah | $74 918 | South Hobart | $54 115 |
| Kingston | $94 509 | Taroona | $82 864 |
| Lenah Valley | $54 143 | Tranmere | $77 793 |
| Lindisfarne | $55 159 | Warrane | $26 602 |
| Lutana | 34 158 | West Hobart-Mount Stuart | $57 927 |

Source: "The Mercury" House Prices Jan - May 1990, CBA Repayments Schedule

**Figure 6.12 Semiurban Hobart - Threshold Income Per Annum Required to Purchase a Home: January - May 1990 (17 per cent interest rate)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | - | Primrose Sands | $26 180 |
| 18 | - | Park Beach | $27 459 |
| 16 | - | New Norfolk | $37 788 |
| 12 | - | Lewisham | $38 858 |
| 8 | - | Dodges Ferry | $40 968 |
| 10 | - | Kettering | $42 425 |
| 23 | - | Snug | $43 914 |
| 9 | - | Huonville | $44 174 |
| 22 | - | South Arm | $44 434 |
| 24 | - | Woodbridge | $47 223 |
| 2 | - | Brighton | $47 917 |
| 1 | - | Bagdad | $48 059 |
| 5 | - | Carlton | $50 650 |
| 14 | - | Mangalore | $51 667 |
| 13 | - | Lower Longley | $55 945 |
| 15 | - | Margate | $58 004 |
| 11 | - | Lauderdale | $63 191 |
| 21 | - | Sandfly | $76 614 |
| 7 | - | Cremorne | $78 233 |
| 3 | - | Cambridge | $88 106 |




Source: "The Mercury" House Prices January - May 1990, CBA Repayment Schedule

Choice is limited further as income declines. The economic profile of the Greater Hobart area for 1986, based upon the number of households whose median family gross annual income was equal to or below $22 000, indicates the high proportion of low income households living in semiurban areas (Table 6.12). Table 6.12 is arranged so that the percentage of families grossing equal to or below $22 000 is in descending order. Table 6.13 gives the low income segment of median family gross annual income for Hobart's urban areas and the Eastern Beaches as well as an assessment of the predominant nature of the housing in each area. Median family gross annual income is given in ascending order in Table 6.13. Semiurban areas within the Eastern Beaches have an economic profile similar to first or second generation public housing areas. Table 6.14 gives recipients of various Department of Social Security (DSS) benefits for southern region LGAs between 2/7/90 and 2/12/91, a period which saw a worsening of the current recession. ('Benefit' refers to all benefits, allowances, pensions and supplements awarded by the DSS. It is possible to qualify for and receive more than one benefit.) At approximately 15 per cent, Sorell experienced the largest increase in benefit recipients over this period indicating, first, a number of recipients moving into the Sorell LGA and, secondly, a number of existing residents qualifying for benefits. Table 6.15 gives DSS benefit recipient data for the Forcett post code area within the Sorell LGA (for difficulties associated with DSS data and in delineating and deriving data for the Forcett post code area see Chapter 5). The Forcett post code area comprises 61.9 per cent of the Sorell LGA's benefit recipients but under 40 per cent of the Sorell LGA's population. Problems with DSS data means that it is not possible to disaggregate data by benefit for the Forcett post code area (figures being under–estimates). Given this qualification, however, one under–estimated figure stands out: 61.6 per cent of all families in the Forcett post code area received family allowance compared with 39.5 per cent for the Sorell LGA and 35.8 per cent for Tasmania. Together, these figures indicate that the Sorell LGA, particularly the Eastern Beaches, has a high number of low income families, many of which are being hard pressed financially by the recession. Cheap land and housing they may have, but their prospects, given the isolated nature of the Eastern Beaches and the lack of employment and training opportunities and physical and social services in the Eastern Beaches are poor. Pursuing the opportunity of home ownership for many low income households means bearing the disadvantages imposed by isolation and lack of services.

**Table 6.12 Hobart's Urban and Semiurban Areas: Median Family Gross Annual Income 1986 $22 000 and Below**

| Urban and Semiurban Area | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| Gagebrook | 659 | 87.3 |
| Clarendon Vale | 392 | 81 |
| *Primrose Sands* | *75* | *75* |
| Bridgewater | 822 | 70.5 |
| Goodwood | 192 | 64.6 |
| Warrane | 429 | 63.9 |
| Rokeby | 506 | 63.8 |
| *Park Beach* | *58* | *60.4* |
| Moonah East | 434 | 59 |
| *Huonville/Ranelagh* | *193* | *58.8* |
| Berriedale/Chigwell | 634 | 56.3 |
| *Woodbridge* | *38* | *55.9* |
| Risdon Vale | 504 | 55 |
| *Carlton* | *96* | *53.9* |
| Derwent Park | 113 | 53.6 |
| *Snug* | *99* | *53.5* |
| *Dodges Ferry* | *48* | *53.3* |
| *Opossum Bay* | *41* | *53.2* |
| Glenorchy | 1735 | 52.1 |
| *Pontville* | *122* | *50.8* |
| Hobart | 63 | 50 |
| Rosny/Montagu Bay | 270 | 49.7 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| North Hobart | 270 | 49.7 |
| ***Lewisham*** | ***51*** | ***48.1*** |
| ***Bagdad/Mangalore*** | ***93*** | ***47.7*** |
| Moonah West | 406 | 47 |
| Lutana | 269 | 47 |
| Sorell/Midway Point | 334 | 45.8 |
| Mornington | 258 | 45.7 |
| New Town | 809 | 44.8 |
| Claremont | 633 | 44.6 |
| ***New Norfolk*** | ***583*** | ***44.6*** |
| ***South Arm*** | ***44*** | ***44.4*** |
| ***Kettering*** | ***38*** | ***43.7*** |
| ***Cremorne*** | ***41*** | ***43.6*** |
| South Hobart | 529 | 43.2 |
| ***Magra*** | ***65*** | ***42.8*** |
| ***Margate*** | ***63*** | ***42.3*** |
| West Hobart/Mount Stuart | 867 | 41.9 |
| Bellerive | 444 | 40.5 |
| Kingston | 573 | 38.6 |
| Montrose/Rosetta | 473 | 36.7 |
| Blackmans Bay | 452 | 35.1 |
| ***Lauderdale*** | ***202*** | ***34.1*** |
| Lenah Valley | 309 | 33.9 |
| Lindisfarne | 575 | 33.8 |
| Austins Ferry | 119 | 33.1 |
| ***Seven Mile Beach*** | ***70*** | ***31.4*** |
| Howrah | 614 | 30.7 |
| Taroona | 215 | 29.5 |
| Geilston Bay | 157 | 29.3 |
| Sandy Bay | 701 | 28.9 |
| Mount Nelson | 161 | 28.9 |
| Tranmere | 59 | 24 |

***Bold/Italic*** - Semiurban area

Source: Census 1986 Catalogue No. 2201.6, Collectors District Data 1986, Tasque (1990)

**Table 6.13 Median Family Gross Annual Income 1986: Hobart's Urban Areas and Eastern Beaches Low Income Segment**

| Area | MFGAI | Nature of Housing |
|---|---|---|
| Gagebrook | 12 833 | PH 1 |
| Clarendon Vale | 13 528 | PH 1 |
| ***Primrose Sands*** | ***15 776*** | ***Private*** |
| Bridgewater | 16 272 | PH 1 |
| Rokeby | 17 858 | PH 1 |
| Goodwood | 17 886 | PH 2 |
| ***Park Beach*** | ***18 000*** | ***Private*** |
| Warrane | 18 108 | PH 2 |
| Moonah East | 19 201 | Mixed |
| ***Dodges Ferry*** | ***19 538*** | ***Private*** |
| ***Carlton*** | ***19 945*** | ***Private*** |
| Berriedale/Chigwell | 20 436 | Mixed |
| Risdon Vale | 20 663 | PH 2 |
| Derwent Park | 20 780 | PH 2 |
| ***Lewisham*** | ***20 844*** | ***Private*** |
| Glenorchy | 21 348 | Mixed |
| Hobart Urban Average | 24 423 | |

***Bold/Italic*** - Semiurban area

MFGAI - Median Family Gross Annual Income

PH 1 - First Generation Public Housing
PH 2 - Second Generation Public Housing
Private - Privately Developed and Marketed Housing
Mixed - Mixed Private and Public Housing

Source: Census 1986 Catalogue No. 2201.6, Collectors District Data 1986

**Table 6.14 Recipients of Pensions, Benefits, Family Allowance and Family Allowance Supplement for Southern Region LGAs 2/7/90 - 2/12/91**

| | 2/7/90 | % Pop. 1990 | 2/12/91 | % Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bothwell | 269 | 34.49 | 281 | 4.46 |
| Brighton | 5517 | 43.2 | 5888 | 6.72 |
| Bruny | 205 | 41 | 228 | 11.22 |
| Clarence | 14148 | 29.66 | 15000 | 6.02 |
| Esperance | 1252 | 38.29 | 1314 | 4.95 |
| Glamorgan | 577 | 31.19 | 633 | 9.71 |
| Glenorchy | 14800 | 34.8 | 15975 | 7.94 |
| Green Ponds | 197 | 16.84 | 214 | 8.63 |
| Hamilton | 632 | 26.12 | 652 | 3.16 |
| Hobart | 12717 | 26.9 | 13213 | 3.9 |
| Huon | 2089 | 37.5 | 2292 | 9.72 |
| Kingborough | 6455 | 27.47 | 6965 | 7.9 |
| New Norfolk | 3750 | 37.13 | 3934 | 4.91 |
| Oatlands | 728 | 37.14 | 778 | 6.87 |
| Port Cygnet | 1109 | 36.48 | 1223 | 10.28 |
| Richmond | 704 | 31.15 | 776 | 10.23 |
| ***Sorell*** | ***2759*** | ***35.6*** | ***3173*** | ***15.01*** |
| Spring Bay | 623 | 30.24 | 690 | 10.75 |
| Tasman | 618 | 41.2 | 679 | 9.87 |
| Tasmania | 146782 | 32.14 | 158261 | 7.82 |

Source: DSS Tasmania 'In House' Client Statistics Series 2/7/90 - 2/12/91

**Table 6.15 Recipients of Pensions, Benefits, Family Allowance and Family Allowance Supplement for Forcett Post Code Area June 1990 - June 1991**

| | June 1990 | June 1991 | % Sorell LGA | % Change 1990-1991 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Forcett Post Code Area # | 1711 | 1964 | 61.9 | 14.79 |

\# Bally Park* Forcett
Dodges Ferry* Lewisham*
Carlton* Primrose Sands*
Carlton Beach* Park Beach*
Connellys Marsh White Hills

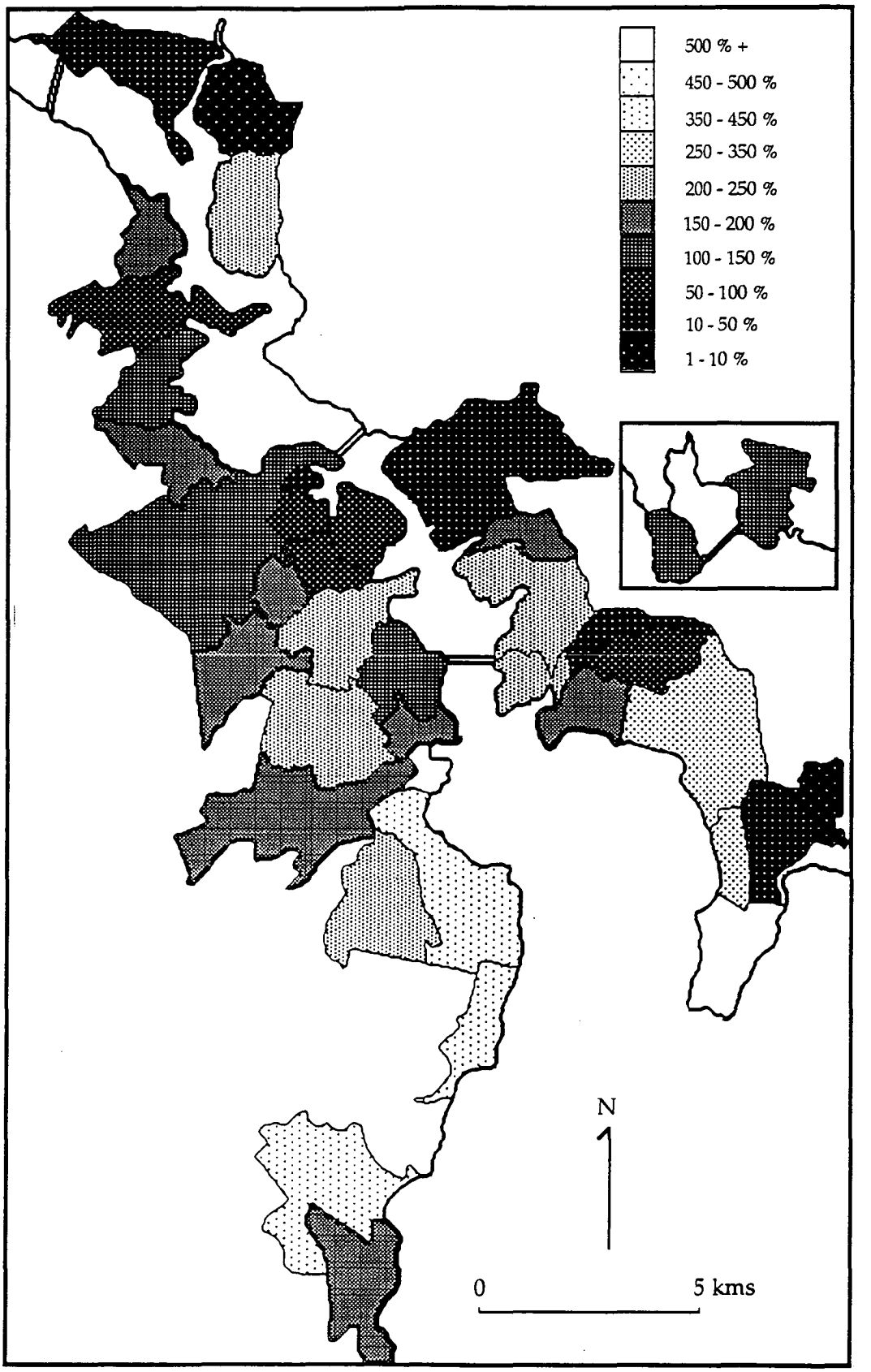
* Area within the Eastern Beaches

Source: DSS Tasmania 'In House' Client Statistics Series 2/7/90 - 2/12/91

Threshold income assesses the affordability of housing without considering the accessibility of housing finance (a 25 per cent deposit is assumed). Deposit gap is a measure which can be used to assess accessibility to housing finance. The deposit gap of an area is calculated by taking the borrowing capacity of a level of income (usually median family gross annual income), subtracting it from the average house price of a given area and dividing the resulting figure by the level of income (for a discussion of the deposit gap measure see NHS [1991] Background Paper 3 pp54–55). Borrowing capacity is based upon the Commonwealth Bank of Australia's loan repayments schedule, assuming 25 per cent of income is contributed to repayments. The interest rate is that for the period over which housing prices were recorded. Figure 6.13, Table 6.16 and Figure 6.14 give the deposit gap for Hobart's urban and semiurban areas for January to May 1990. The figures are in per cent, with 100 per cent equalling the median family gross annual income for January to May 1990 of $30 699. If 25 per cent of median family gross annual income is considered a reasonable contribution towards a deposit, then 100 per cent represents approximately 4 years saving (given that house prices, income and interest rates remain constant and that families are saving from scratch). Between January and May 1990, only the outer urban public housing areas of Bridgewater, Gagebrook, Risdon Vale, Warrane, Clarendon Vale and the semiurban areas of Primrose Sands and Park Beach were accessible after about 1 years saving.

The outlook was even bleaker for low income households. Figure 6.15, Table 6.17 and Figure 6.16 give the deposit gap for Hobart's urban and semiurban areas for January to May 1990 based upon the low family gross annual income benchmark figure of $15 550 (for a discussion of this figure see NHS 1991 Issues Paper 2). No area was below 100 per cent, the lowest urban area being Gagebrook at 141 per cent (approximately five and a half years saving) and the lowest semiurban area being Primrose Sands at 179 per cent (approximately seven years saving). Table 6.18 compares deposit gaps based on median family gross annual income in 1981 and 1990 by area. Urban and semiurban areas are arranged so that deposit gaps for 1990 are in ascending order. Primrose Sands and Park Beach were the only privately developed residential areas whose deposit gap would take under one year to save for median gross annual income families in 1981.

Figure 6.13 Deposit Gap Measure of Accessibility Hobart Urban Areas (%): Median Family Gross Annual Income January - May 1990 ($30 699, 17 per cent interest rate)




Source: "The Mercury" House Prices Jan-May 1990, Census 1986 and ABS CPI Factor 1986-1990

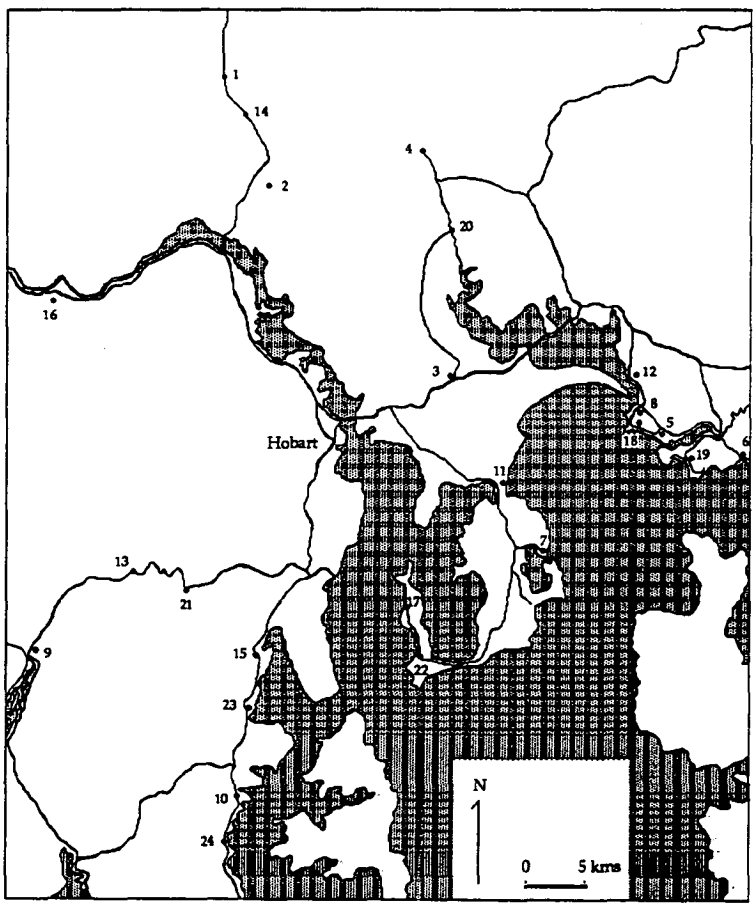
**Table 6.16 Deposit Gap Measure of Accessibility Hobart Urban Areas (%): Median Family Gross Annual Income January - May 1990 ($30 699, 17 per cent interest rate)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Austins Ferry | 151 | Midway Point | 105 |
| Battery Point | 512 | Montrose-Rosetta | 198 |
| Bellerive | 196 | Moonah East | 94 |
| Berriedale-Chigwell | 117 | Moonah West | 167 |
| Blackmans Bay | 187 | Mornington | 80 |
| Bridgewater | 25 | Mount Nelson | 246 |
| Claremont | 81 | New Town | 217 |
| Clarendon Vale | 9 | North Hobart | 119 |
| Derwent Park | 70 | Old Beach | 206 |
| Gagebrook | 1 | Risdon Vale | 14 |
| Geilston Bay | 174 | Rokeby | 45 |
| Glenorchy | 114 | Rosny-Montagu Bay | 236 |
| Goodwood | 49 | Sandy Bay | 433 |
| Hobart | 163 | Sorell | 144 |
| Howrah | 326 | South Hobart | 195 |
| Kingston | 450 | Taroona | 376 |
| Lenah Valley | 195 | Tranmere | 344 |
| Lindisfarne | 202 | Warrane | 23 |
| Lutana | 70 | West Hobart-Mount Stuart | 219 |

Source: "The Mercury" House Prices Jan - May 1990, Census 1986 and ABS CPI Factor 1986-1990

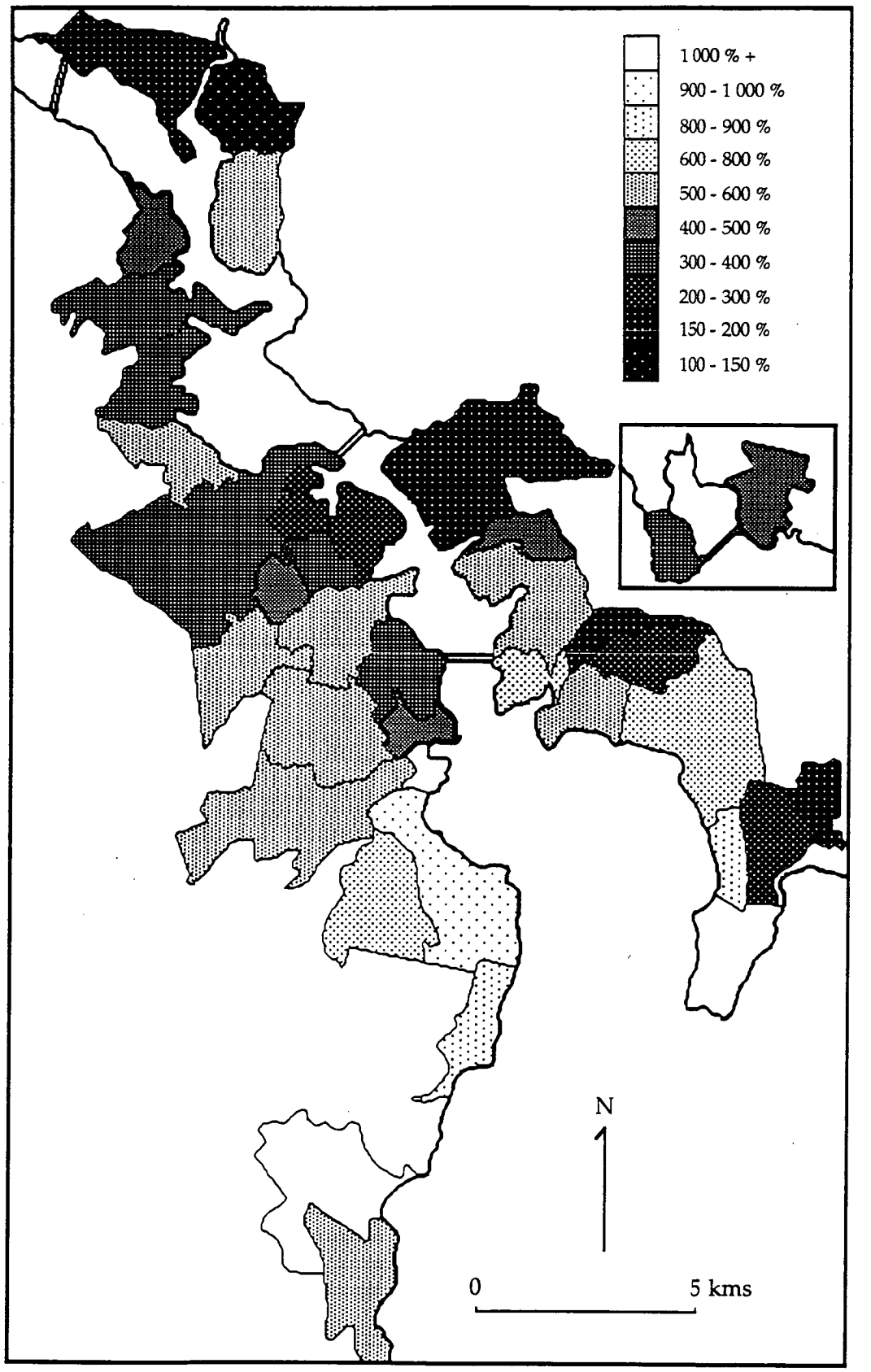
**Figure 6.14 Semiurban Hobart - Deposit Gap Measure of Accessibility: Median Family Gross Annual Income January - May 1990 ($30 699, 17 per cent interest rate)**

19 - Primrose Sands 20 %
18 - Park Beach 28 %
16 - New Norfolk 93 %
12 - Lewisham 99 %
8 - Dodges Ferry 113 %
10 - Kettering 122 %
23 - Snug 131 %
9 - Huonville 133 %
22 - South Arm 134 %
24 - Woodbridge 152 %
2 - Brighton 156 %
1 - Bagdad 157 %
5 - Carlton 173 %
14 - Mangalore 180 %
13 - Lower Longley 207 %
15 - Margate 220 %
11 - Lauderdale 252 %
21 - Sandfly 337 %
7 - Cremorne 347 %
3 - Cambridge 409 %




Source: "The Mercury" House Prices Jan-May 1990, Census 1986 and ABS CPI Factor 1986-1990

Figure 6.15 Deposit Gap Measure of Accessibility Hobart Urban Areas (%): Low Family Gross Annual Income January - May 1990 ($15 550, 17 per cent interest rate)




Source: "The Mercury" House Prices Jan-May 1990, NHS 1991 Issues Paper 2

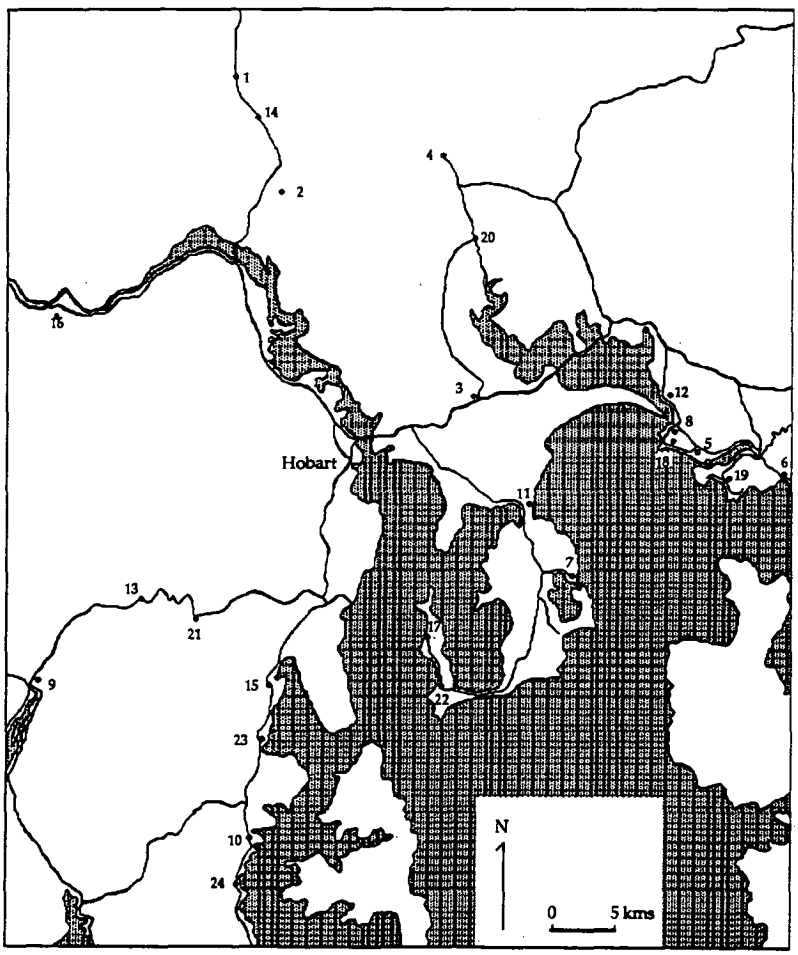
**Table 6.17 Deposit Gap Measure of Accessibility Hobart Urban Areas (%): Low Family Gross Annual Income January - May 1990 ($15 550, 17 per cent interest rate)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Austins Ferry | 440 | Midway Point | 348 |
| Battery Point | 1152 | Montrose-Rosetta | 533 |
| Bellerive | 529 | Moonah East | 326 |
| Berriedale-Chigwell | 372 | Moonah West | 471 |
| Blackmans Bay | 510 | Mornington | 299 |
| Bridgewater | 188 | Mount Nelson | 627 |
| Claremont | 300 | New Town | 569 |
| Clarendon Vale | 158 | North Hobart | 375 |
| Derwent Park | 279 | Old Beach | 548 |
| Gagebrook | 141 | Risdon Vale | 167 |
| Geilston Bay | 485 | Rokeby | 230 |
| Glenorchy | 367 | Rosny-Montagu Bay | 607 |
| Goodwood | 239 | Sandy Bay | 997 |
| Hobart | 463 | Sorell | 426 |
| Howrah | 785 | South Hobart | 526 |
| Kingston | 1029 | Taroona | 884 |
| Lenah Valley | 527 | Tranmere | 821 |
| Lindisfarne | 539 | Warrane | 185 |
| Lutana | 279 | West Hobart-Mount Stuart | 574 |

Source: "The Mercury" House Prices Jan - May 1990, NHS 1991 Issues Paper 2

**Figure 6.16 Semiurban Hobart - Deposit Gap Measure of Accessibility: Low Family Gross Annual Income January - May 1990 ($15 550, 17 per cent interest rate)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | - | Primrose Sands | 179 % |
| 18 | - | Park Beach | 195 % |
| 16 | - | New Norfolk | 324 % |
| 12 | - | Lewisham | 337 % |
| 8 | - | Dodges Ferry | 363 % |
| 10 | - | Kettering | 381 % |
| 23 | - | Snug | 400 % |
| 9 | - | Huonville | 403 % |
| 22 | - | South Arm | 406 % |
| 24 | - | Woodbridge | 441 % |
| 2 | - | Brighton | 450 % |
| 1 | - | Bagdad | 452 % |
| 5 | - | Carlton | 483 % |
| 14 | - | Mangalore | 496 % |
| 13 | - | Lower Longley | 549 % |
| 15 | - | Margate | 575 % |
| 11 | - | Lauderdale | 639 % |
| 21 | - | Sandfly | 806 % |
| 7 | - | Cremorne | 826 % |
| 3 | - | Cambridge | 949 % |




Source: "The Mercury" House Prices Jan-May 1990, NHS 1991 Background Paper 3

**Table 6.18 Median Accessibility by Deposit Gap Measure: Hobart's Urban and Semiurban Areas 1981 - 1990**

| Urban and Semiurban Area | Deposit Gap Measure | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1981 (%) | 1990 (%) | 1981-90 (No.) |
| Gagebrook | - | 1 | - |
| Clarendon Vale | - | 9 | - |
| Risdon Vale | -8 | 14 | 22 |
| *Primrose Sands* | *11* | *20* | *9* |
| Warrane | 1 | 23 | 22 |
| Bridgewater | 28 | 25 | -3 |
| *Park Beach* | *23* | *28* | *5* |
| Rokeby | 89 | 45 | -44 |
| Goodwood | 18 | 49 | 31 |
| Chigwell | 33 | 50 | 17 |
| Derwent Park | 137 | 70 | -67 |
| Lutana | 101 | 70 | -31 |
| Mornington | 87 | 80 | -7 |
| Claremont | 91 | 81 | -10 |
| *New Norfolk* | *72* | *93* | *21* |
| Moonah | 98 | 94 | -4 |
| *Lewisham* | *213* | *99* | *-114* |
| Midway Point | 85 | 105 | 20 |
| *Dodges Ferry* | *30* | *113* | *83* |
| Glenorchy | 100 | 114 | 14 |
| North Hobart | 68 | 119 | 51 |
| *Kettering* | *70* | *122* | *52* |
| Montrose | 133 | 127 | -6 |
| *Snug* | *62* | *131* | *69* |
| *Huonville* | *74* | *133* | *59* |
| *South Arm* | *82* | *134* | *52* |
| Sorell | 140 | 144 | 4 |
| Austins Ferry | 223 | 151 | -72 |
| *Woodbridge* | *192* | *152* | *-40* |
| *Brighton* | *99* | *156* | *57* |
| *Bagdad* | *69* | *157* | *88* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hobart | 78 | 163 | 85 |
| Montagu Bay | 149 | 163 | 14 |
| West Moonah | 158 | 167 | 9 |
| ***Carlton*** | ***31*** | ***173*** | ***142*** |
| Geilston Bay | 143 | 174 | 31 |
| ***Mangalore*** | ***341*** | ***180*** | ***-161*** |
| Berriedale | 133 | 184 | 51 |
| West Hobart | 150 | 186 | 36 |
| Blackmans Bay | 191 | 187 | -4 |
| South Hobart | 99 | 195 | 96 |
| Lenah Valley | 301 | 195 | -106 |
| Bellerive | 170 | 196 | 26 |
| Lindisfarne | 178 | 202 | 24 |
| Old Beach | 334 | 206 | -128 |
| ***Lower Longley*** | - | ***207*** | - |
| New Town | 123 | 217 | 94 |
| ***Margate*** | ***305*** | ***220*** | ***-85*** |
| Mt Nelson | 212 | 246 | 34 |
| ***Lauderdale*** | ***134*** | ***252*** | ***118*** |
| Mt Stuart | 244 | 252 | 8 |
| Rosetta | 179 | 270 | 91 |
| Rosny | 106 | 310 | 204 |
| Howrah | 227 | 326 | 99 |
| ***Sandfly*** | ***215*** | ***337*** | ***122*** |
| Tranmere | 256 | 344 | 88 |
| ***Cremorne*** | ***197*** | ***347*** | ***150*** |
| Taroona | 358 | 376 | 18 |
| ***Cambridge*** | ***26*** | ***409*** | ***383*** |
| Sandy Bay | 368 | 433 | 65 |
| Kingston | 210 | 450 | 240 |
| Battery Point | 108 | 512 | 404 |
| Eastern Beaches | 61 | 86 | 25 |
| GHA | 138 | 174 | 36 |

***Bold/Italic*** - Semiurban area

1981 - Median Family Gross Annual Income $11 902, Interest Rate 11.5 %
1990 - Median Family Gross Annual Income $30 699, Interest Rate 17 %

GHA - Greater Hobart Area

Source: "The Mercury" House Prices January - May 1981 and 1990,
CBA Repayment Schedule; Census 1986, ABS 1986 - 1990 CPI Factor

The average deposit gap for both the Eastern Beaches and Hobart's residential extent increased between 1981 and 1990. By 1990 it took approximately one year longer for median gross annual income families to save a deposit for an average priced home in the Eastern Beaches than it did in 1981, while for Hobart's residential extent it took approximately one and a half years longer.

Table 6.19 gives deposit gaps for 1990 by both selected areas' median family gross annual incomes and average house prices. Areas given are examples of low, medium and high house priced urban areas as well as the Eastern Beaches. The lowest deposit gaps were in low priced urban areas. Low priced urban areas' median family gross annual income comprised approximately 38 per cent of average house prices, for medium priced urban areas the figure was 29 per cent and for high priced urban areas 21 per cent. The lower ratio for high priced urban areas reflected higher borrowing capacities for high income households, equity accumulated by households trading up and/or access to alternative forms of wealth. The housing market capitalises increased capacity to pay into the price structure of urban and semiurban areas, hence the higher deposit gaps in high priced urban areas. The median family gross annual income of the Eastern Beaches comprised approximately 36 per cent of the average house price, with semiurban areas such as Primrose Sands and Park Beach being comparable with low priced urban public housing areas.

A trend which appeared to be emerging in 1990 in the Eastern Beaches was for the price of land and housing to rise above that of previously comparable publicly developed urban areas, despite the median family gross annual income of the Eastern Beaches remaining roughly the same as urban areas such as Warrane. For example, Table 6.20 gives the low house price segment of Hobart's urban and semiurban areas for 1981 and 1990. The 1990 value in both Table 6.20 and Table 6.21 is given in ascending order. The Eastern Beaches experienced an approximate 123 per cent increase in average house prices between 1981 and 1990, compared with 144 per cent for other low house priced semiurban areas. The average low house priced urban increase, however, was only 100 per cent. Table 6.21 gives the low median deposit gap segment of Hobart's urban and semiurban areas for 1981 and 1990. Like housing prices, deposit gaps in the Eastern Beaches have risen more slowly than in other comparable semiurban areas, but faster than in comparable urban areas.

## Table 6.19 Deposit Gap by Area Family Income for Selected Hobart Urban Areas and the Eastern Beaches 1990

| Area | Family Income* | House Price# | Deposit Gap Measure |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Low Range** | | | |
| Warrane | $22 761 | $51 300 | 80 % |
| Bridgewater | 20 453 | 51 829 | 108 |
| Rokeby | 22 447 | 58 409 | 115 |
| Goodwood | 22 482 | 59 750 | 121 |
| Gagebrook | 16 131 | 44 500 | 131 |
| Clarendon Vale | 17 004 | 47 170 | 132 |
| **Mid Range** | | | |
| Bellerive | 32 801 | 104 885 | 174 |
| South Hobart | 32 199 | 104 470 | 179 |
| Moonah West | 29 125 | 95 817 | 184 |
| New Town | 30 772 | 111 142 | 216 |
| **High Range** | | | |
| Tranmere | 42 098 | 150 278 | 211 |
| Taroona | 41 405 | 160 075 | 241 |
| Sandy Bay | 43 837 | 230 714 (excl Dynnyrne) | 382 |
| Battery Point | 34 542 | 201 650 | 438 |
| **Eastern Beaches** | | | |
| Park Beach | 22 626 | 52 950 | 89 |
| Primrose Sands | 19 830 | 50 486 | 110 |
| Lewisham | 26 200 | 75 080 | 142 |
| Carlton | 25 071 | 71 180 | 139 |
| Dodges Ferry | 24 559 | 79 120 | 177 |

* Area Median Family Gross Annual Income 1990
# Average Area House Price 1990

Source: Census 1986, ABS 1986-1990 CPI Factor and "The Mercury" House Prices January - May 1990

## Table 6.20 Hobart's Urban and Semiurban Areas: Low House Price Segment 1981 - 1990

| | Ave House Price 1981 | Ave House Price 1990 | 1981 - 1990 (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gagebrook | - | 44500 | - |
| Clarendon Vale | - | 47170 | - |
| Risdon Vale | 23401 | 48511 | 107.3 |
| ***Primrose Sands*** | ***25747*** | ***50486*** | ***96*** |
| Warrane | 24483 | 51300 | 109.5 |
| Bridgewater | 27797 | 51829 | 86.4 |
| ***Park Beach*** | ***27200*** | ***52950*** | ***94.6*** |
| Rokeby | 35062 | 58409 | 66.5 |
| Goodwood | 26600 | 59750 | 124.6 |
| Chigwell | 28369 | 59818 | 110.8 |
| Lutana | 36425 | 65986 | 81.1 |
| Derwent Park | 40750 | 66000 | 61.9 |
| Mornington | 34758 | 69150 | 98.9 |
| Claremont | 35240 | 69293 | 96.6 |
| ***New Norfolk*** | ***32960*** | ***73017*** | ***121.5*** |
| Moonah | 36019 | 73348 | 103.6 |
| ***Lewisham*** | ***49765*** | ***75080*** | ***50.8*** |
| Midway Point | 34496 | 76788 | 122.6 |
| ***Dodges Ferry*** | ***28006*** | ***79120*** | ***182.5*** |
| Glenorchy | 36310 | 79714 | 119.5 |
| North Hobart | 32463 | 80970 | 149.4 |
| ***Kettering*** | ***32750*** | ***81929*** | ***150.1*** |
| Montrose | 40275 | 83575 | 107.5 |
| ***Snug*** | ***31750*** | ***84800*** | ***167*** |
| ***Huonville*** | ***33208*** | ***85300*** | ***156.8*** |
| ***South Arm*** | ***34125*** | ***85803*** | ***151.4*** |
| Sorell | 41095 | 88814 | 116.1 |
| Austins Ferry | 51012 | 91060 | 78.5 |
| ***Woodbridge*** | ***47250*** | ***91180*** | ***92.9*** |
| ***Brighton*** | ***36250*** | ***92518*** | ***155.2*** |
| ***Bagdad*** | ***32656*** | ***92800*** | ***184.1*** |
| Montagu Bay | 42143 | 94500 | 124.2 |
| Hobart | 33753 | 94550 | 180.1 |
| West Moonah | 43228 | 95817 | 121.6 |
| ***Carlton*** | ***28061*** | ***97788*** | ***248.4*** |
| Eastern Beaches | 31755 | 71084 | 123 |
| Above Semiurban Areas Excluding the Eastern Beaches | 35118 | 85918 | 144 |
| Above Urban Areas | 35182 | 70492 | 100 |
| Above Urban Areas and Semiurban Areas Excluding the Eastern Beaches | 35164 | 74606 | 112 |

***Bold/Italic*** - Semiurban area

Source: "The Mercury" House Prices January - May 1981 and 1990

## Table 6.21 Hobart's Urban and Semiurban Areas: Low Median Deposit Gap Segment 1981 - 1990

| Urban and Semiurban Area | Deposit Gap Measure | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1981 (%) | 1990 (%) | 1981-90 (No.) |
| Gagebrook | - | 1 | - |
| Clarendon Vale | - | 9 | - |
| Risdon Vale | -8 | 14 | 22 |
| ***Primrose Sands*** | ***11*** | ***20*** | ***9*** |
| Warrane | 1 | 23 | 22 |
| Bridgewater | 28 | 25 | -3 |
| ***Park Beach*** | ***23*** | ***28*** | ***5*** |
| Rokeby | 89 | 45 | -44 |
| Goodwood | 18 | 49 | 31 |
| Chigwell | 33 | 50 | 17 |
| Derwent Park | 137 | 70 | -67 |
| Lutana | 101 | 70 | -31 |
| Mornington | 87 | 80 | -7 |
| Claremont | 91 | 81 | -10 |
| ***New Norfolk*** | ***72*** | ***93*** | ***21*** |
| Moonah | 98 | 94 | -4 |
| ***Lewisham*** | ***213*** | ***99*** | ***-114*** |
| Midway Point | 85 | 105 | 20 |
| ***Dodges Ferry*** | ***30*** | ***113*** | ***83*** |
| Glenorchy | 100 | 114 | 14 |
| North Hobart | 68 | 119 | 51 |
| ***Kettering*** | ***70*** | ***122*** | ***52*** |
| Montrose | 133 | 127 | -6 |
| ***Snug*** | ***62*** | ***131*** | ***69*** |
| ***Huonville*** | ***74*** | ***133*** | ***59*** |
| ***South Arm*** | ***82*** | ***134*** | ***52*** |
| Sorell | 140 | 144 | 4 |
| Austins Ferry | 223 | 151 | -72 |
| ***Woodbridge*** | ***192*** | ***152*** | ***-40*** |
| ***Brighton*** | ***99*** | ***156*** | ***57*** |
| ***Bagdad*** | ***69*** | ***157*** | ***88*** |
| Hobart | 78 | 163 | 85 |
| Montagu Bay | 149 | 163 | 14 |
| West Moonah | 158 | 167 | 9 |
| ***Carlton*** | ***31*** | ***173*** | ***142*** |
| Eastern Beaches | 61 | 86 | 25 (40.9%) |
| Above Semiurban Areas Excluding the Eastern Beaches | 90 | 134 | 44 (48.8%) |
| Above Urban Areas | 90 | 84 | -6 (-6.6%) |
| Above Urban Areas and Semiurban Areas Excluding the Eastern Beaches | 90 | 98 | 8 (8.8%) |

1981 - Median Family Gross Annual Income $11 902, Interest Rate 11.5 %
1990 - Median Family Gross Annual Income $30 699, Interest Rate 17 %

***Bold/Italic*** - Semiurban area

Source: "The Mercury" House Prices January - May 1981 and 1990, CBA Repayment Schedule, Census 1986, ABS 1986 - 1990 CPI Factor

The increased price of land is most responsible for the rise in the price of the land/house package within Hobart's residential extent. The disaggregation of the house price component from the deposit gap measure for Hobart's residential extent between 1981 and 1990 is approximately -3 per cent (for a discussion of this disaggregation see NHS [1991] Background Paper 3 pp54–55). This indicates that it is the price of land, not housing, which is most responsible for the increase in the price of the land/house package. For example, the land component of the land/house package more than doubled in the Eastern Beaches between 1981 and 1990 from approximately 15 per cent to 32 per cent.

## 6.3 SUMMARY

Table 6.22 gives a summary of the important statistical indicators presented in this chapter. As previously mentioned, statistics for the Eastern Beaches total are approximately 10 per cent higher than might be expected due to the inflated average house price figure for Carlton. There are two points which stand out. First, it was significantly easier to purchase a home in the Eastern Beaches in 1981 and 1990 than in other semiurban areas or in Hobart's privately developed urban areas regarding both the deposit gap measure and average house prices. Generalising for 1981 and 1990, it was approximately twice as hard to save a deposit for a home, which was roughly one third more expensive, within the Greater Hobart area compared to saving for a home in the Eastern Beaches. Secondly, between 1981 and 1990 average house prices within the Greater Hobart area increased by a larger percentage than in the Eastern Beaches, while median deposit gaps increased by a lesser percentage. This apparent discrepancy hides two underlying trends. First, the lesser increase in median deposit gaps compared with average house prices in the Eastern Beaches in comparison with the Greater Hobart area is due to the approximate 157 per cent increase in median family gross annual income between 1981 and 1990. This increase reflects the rise in female paid employment and thus in the number of dual income households (Table 6.23). Figure 6.15, Table 6.17 and Figure 6.16, however, revealed the unfavourable deposit gap position of low, usually single, income households. Secondly, Table 6.20 and Table 6.21 showed that the Eastern Beaches' relatively favourable house price and deposit gap comparison with Hobart's lower priced

**Table 6.22 Median Income Deposit Gap and Average House Prices for the Eastern Beaches, Hobart's Urban Areas, Hobart's Semiurban Areas and the Greater Hobart area 1981 - 1990**

| Deposit Gap % | 1981 | 1990 | 1981-1990 (No.) | % Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Carlton | 31 | 173 | 142 | |
| Dodges Ferry | 30 | 113 | 83 | |
| Lewisham | 213 | 99 | -114 | |
| Park Beach | 23 | 28 | 5 | |
| Primrose Sands | 11 | 20 | 9 | |
| **Eastern Beaches** | **61** | **86** | **25** | |
| **Other Semiurban Areas** | **146.5** | **206** | **59.5** | |
| **Hobart Urban Area** | **147** | **178** | **31** | |
| **GHA** | **138** | **174** | **36** | |
| GHA % Harder EB | 126 | 102 | -24 | -19 |
| **Average House Price $** | | | | |
| Carlton | 28061 | 97788 | 69727 | 248 |
| Dodges Ferry | 28006 | 79120 | 51114 | 182 |
| Lewisham | 49765 | 75080 | 25315 | 50 |
| Park Beach | 27200 | 52950 | 25750 | 94 |
| Primrose Sands | 25747 | 50486 | 24739 | 96 |
| **Eastern Beaches** | **31755** | **71084** | **39329** | **123** |
| **Other Semiurban Areas** | **39660** | **108033** | **68373** | **172** |
| **Hobart Urban Area** | **41963** | **99447** | **57484** | **136** |
| **GHA** | **40461** | **97947** | **57486** | **142** |
| GHA % Dearer EB | 27 | 38 | 11 | 40 |
| Interest Rate % | 11.5 | 17 | 5.5 | |
| MFGAI $ | 11902 | 30699 | 18797 | 157 |

Deposit Gap: 1981 ($11902, 11.5 %), 1990 ($30699, 17 %)
GHA - Greater Hobart Area (Total Urban and Semiurban Areas including the Eastern Beaches)
MFGAI - Median Family Gross Annual Income

Note: Wood and Bushe-Jones (1991) Disaggregation of the House Price Component from the Deposit Gap Measure for HRE 1981-1990: -3%

Source: "The Mercury" January - May 1981 and 1990, CBA Repayment Schedule, Census 1981 and 1986, ABS CPI Factor 1986-1990

publicly developed urban areas declined between 1981 and 1990. Over the same period, the Eastern Beaches' position as one of the cheapest semiurban areas was confirmed by even higher land and housing price rises and deposit gap increases in alternative semiurban areas. In short, for low income households the low priced semiurban housing option in the Eastern Beaches became less economically attractive between 1981 and 1990, despite the higher average rise in the price of land and housing within Hobart's residential extent. For single income low income households, home ownership in semiurban areas became less affordable between 1981 and 1990:

> ... the Hawke government's tax reform package and partial deregulation of the home finance market have simultaneously reduced the tax liability and increased the wealth holdings of those middle class homeowners and investors living in some of the most exclusive inner suburbs in Australian cities. In contrast, "(t)hose living in working class suburbs ... seem not to have benefited at all" (Leigh 1989 p183) (Badcock 1991 p130).

**Table 6.23 Male and Female Labour Force Participation Rates Tasmania: December 1980 and 1990 (per cent)**

| | Males | | % Change | Females | | % Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age Group | 1980 | 1990 | 1980-1990 | 1980 | 1990 | 1980-1990 |
| 15-19 | 74.5 | 70.3 | -5.6 | 69.7 | 68.7 | -1.4 |
| 20-24 | 94.1 | 94.3 | 0.2 | 69 | 77.9 | 12.9 |
| 25-44 | 96.1 | 95.4 | -0.7 | 52.4 | 66.4 | 26.7 |
| 45-54 | 94.8 | 89.4 | -5.7 | 45.3 | 60 | 32.4 |
| 55-64 | 67.2 | 60.1 | -10.5 | 19.7 | 25.1 | 27.4 |
| 65 + | 8.7 | 6.8 | -21.8 | 1.1 | 0.9 | -18.1 |
| Total | 79.3 | 75.8 | -4.4 | 43.8 | 51 | 16.4 |

Source: ABS Social Report Tasmania 1991

## 6.4 DENSITY AND TRANSPORT TRENDS IN AND AROUND HOBART: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The aim in this section is to document trends in residential density and modes of transport for Hobart since World War II. The implications of these trends for finite fossil fuel depletion and greenhouse gas emissions are examined regarding the semiurban development of the Eastern Beaches. The structure in this section is to document the general trends for the Greater Hobart area, exemplify the environmental implications of these trends by examining the case of the Eastern Beaches and, finally,

to move back to the scale of the Greater Hobart area to comment on the environmental implications of semiurban development.

The relationship between the environment and urban form was summarised in Chapter 3. In short, it is estimated that greenhouse gas emissions, if unchecked, will result in a mean global temperature increase of 3 degrees Celsius and a 65 centimetre rise in sea level by 2100. Of the greenhouse gases, $CO_2$ is the most significant with Australia being responsible for approximately 1 per cent of global greenhouse gas emissions, considerably more than Australia's global population share of approximately 0.4 per cent. Petroleum accounts for approximately 33 per cent of Australia's greenhouse gas emissions with transport by road comprising approximately 81 per cent of petroleum based emissions. Domestic transport accounts for approximately 26 per cent of $CO_2$ and approximately 14 per cent of total greenhouse gas emissions in Australia. On average, for every 1 litre of petroleum, a vehicle releases 1.5 kilograms of $CO_2$ into the atmosphere; every 10 kilometres, 1 litre of petroleum is used. Modes of travel and commuting distances, therefore, are important.

Table 6.24 gives selected area and transport data for Hobart and Tasmania between 1954/55 and 1990. Over this period, Hobart's population increased by approximately 63 per cent. Between 1954 and 1990, however, Hobart's residential area increased by approximately 264 per cent. Thus, Hobart's residential density declined by approximately 50 per cent. Private motor vehicle ownership in Tasmania increased by approximately 235 per cent and it was approximately 22 per cent easier for average male income earners to purchase a car in 1990 than in 1955. Over the same period, Metropolitan Transport Trust patronage in Tasmania declined by approximately 50 per cent, despite Tasmania's population increasing by approximately 47 per cent between 1954 and 1990. Not only have private motor vehicles become cheaper to purchase, but the running of cars has become cheaper due to the increased efficiency of private motor vehicles and a decline in the cost of petrol. Between 1955 and 1990, the cost of petrol as a proportion of average male income declined by approximately 42 per cent. Gasoline use per person increased by approximately 140 per cent between 1955 and 1990 due to the increased use of private motor vehicles in Tasmania as well as to increased distances routinely being travelled.

**Table 6.24 Selected Area and Transport Data for Hobart and Tasmania 1954 - 1990**

| | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | % Change 1955-1990 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population (No.) # | 106 280 | 120 750 | 133 320 | 143 680 | 155 430 | 160 630 | 168 710 | 173 740 | 63.47 |
| Hobart's Resid Density | | | | | | | | | |
| (Pop/Resid Area) | 29.55 | 24.87 | 21.49 | 18.89 | 17.05 | 16.11 | 15.4 | 13.96 | -52.76 |
| Car Ownership (per 1000 Tas) | 143.32 | 187.99 | 259.65 | 310.04 | 386.08 | 432.35 | 462.11 | 481.1 | 235.68 |
| Gasoline Use | | | | | | | | | |
| (MJ per person Tas) | 14381.14 | 17987.26 | 22810.24 | 27308.37 | 31777.62 | 34188.86 | 33248.64 | 34579.11 | 140.45 |
| Car $ % Inc pa * | - | 1.08 | 0.97 | 0.79 | 0.72 | 0.68 | 0.64 | 0.84 | -22.22 |
| Petrol $ % Inc pa | | | | | | | | | |
| (1000 litres) | 4.52 | 3.86 | 3.23 | 2.68 | 2.02 | 2.62 | 2.79 | 2.62 | -42.04 |
| MTT Patronage | | | | | | | | | |
| (One Way Passenger Trips Tas) | - | 19667 | 16781 | 14687 | 14889 | 12550 | 10219 | 9442 | -51.99 |
| | 1954 | 1962 | 1966 | 1971 | 1974 | 1977 | 1987 | 1990 | % Change 1954-1990 |
| Greater Hobart Area ^ | 3418.5 | 5560.25 | 6438.2 | 7901.4 | 8825 | 9500 | 11275 | 12450 | 264.19 |

\# - Hobart, Glenorchy, Clarence, Kingborough and Brighton LGAs
* - Base Model: Six Cylinder Holden Light Motor Vehicle, average male income per annum
^ - Taken from Street Atlas Series: Every 500m² block with three or more houses counted as part of the Greater Hobart area
Tas - Tasmania

Source: ABS Census and Inter-Census Population Estimates 1947-1990, Street Atlas Series 1954-1990, Dept. of Roads and Transport 1991, "The Red Book" 1991, ABARE 1991 and MTT Annual Reports to Parliament 1956-1990. Data collected with Hoey (1992).

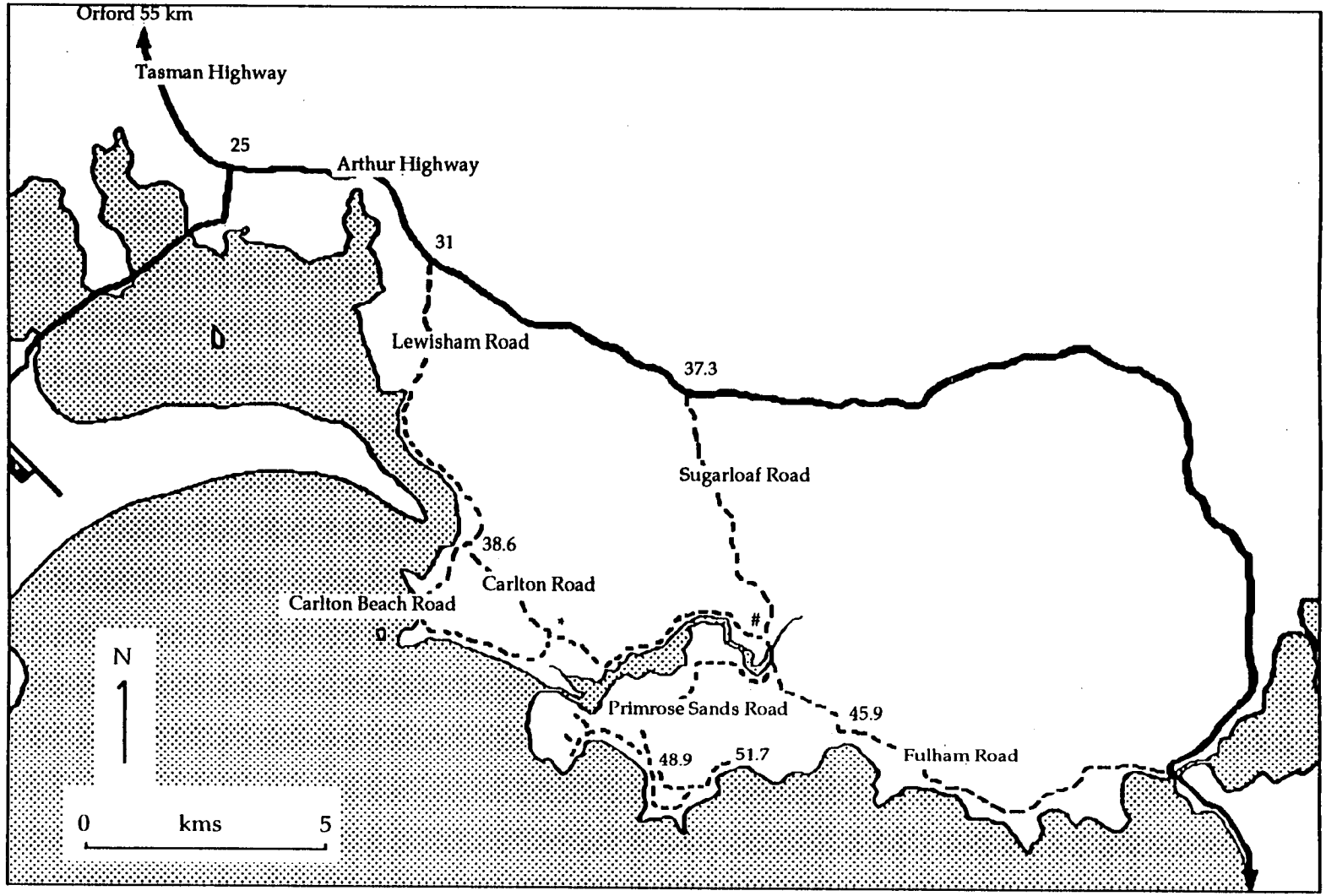
In short, between 1954/55 and 1990 it has been possible for Hobart's residential extent to spread out due to the construction of a transport infrastructure network which is used by households (consuming larger amounts of increasingly affordable petrol through the use of increasingly affordable private motor vehicles) to access larger amounts of more affordable semiurban land. New areas were made accessible for residential development due to the development of an extensive transport network based upon the pervasion of the private motor vehicle. This development made possible the realising of opportunities by the land and housing market and the state to provide housing for low income households in outlying areas of the city. Today, however, an understanding is beginning to be reached that the general long term social and economic disadvantages of sprawling urban and semiurban growth may be outweighing the specific short term advantages of such growth, and that consumption of finite resources can not continue *ad infinitum*.

Commuting distances and times in Hobart are lower than in other State capital cities. All other State capitals, however, have populations of over one million, with the respective populations of Sydney and Melbourne being over three million. Semiurban development in Hobart is not population or immigration driven, as is often claimed to be the case in other capital cities. Much 'leapfrogged' land lies between developing semiurban areas and outer urban areas. Presently, infrastructure can not be provided to many semiurban areas, the environment can not stand both the global and local impacts of semiurban development and many low income households can not afford to go without services and spend a significant proportion of their gross income on commuting. It is not socially desirable, economically feasible or environmentally justifiable for a city of approximately 200 000 people to have households commuting 100 kilometres for an hour and a half each day (Primrose Sands to the Hobart GPO return). The interview survey revealed a common attitude towards travel times and distances in and around Hobart to be that "we are spoilt". Many households interviewed felt that "mainlanders with more money than sense" were locating in the Eastern Beaches because they felt it to be both extraordinarily cheap and close to Hobart. Most households interviewed shrugged off the question of isolation with reference to either Sydney or Melbourne; "its nothing compared to the mainland". Sydney and Melbourne, however, have populations over fifteen times larger than Hobart, thus, making comparable commuting distances and times difficult to justify.

Semiurban development can not be understood simply on the basis of population pressure. It is popular perceptions, state policy and private market practice which are interactively responsible for semiurban development and it is these which are under pressure to change as development on the edge of the city becomes increasingly untenable. The expansion of Hobart appears to have reached its limit in that the current form of residential development is no longer sensible for either people, especially low income households, the public purse or the environment.

In this section, emission of the greenhouse gas $CO_2$ is discussed regarding the spatial configuration of Hobart, specifically the relationship between Hobart and the Eastern Beaches. Access has been crucial to the development of the Eastern Beaches. The ability of households to access a private motor vehicle and the ability of private motor vehicles to access the Eastern Beaches were critical to the holiday home development of the area. A prerequisite for the realisation of the opportunity for land owners to develop the Eastern Beaches as a holiday home area was access. Many households were prepared to travel on rough roads to access the area for holiday use. Permanent habitation was also possible if it was not necessary to travel regularly outside of the area. Improved access and permanent residential development occurred hand in hand. It is normatively assumed that the development of transport infrastructure affects all equally. Costs and benefits, however, are distributed unequally with some benefiting at the expense of others by way of both baseless capital gain and cross–subsidy. The construction and upgrading of roads is not neutral in capitalist society. The upgrading of the Eastern Outlet (including the Tasman and Arthur Highways), the widening and sealing of the major thoroughfares in the Eastern Beaches and the gravelling and grading of residential streets has improved access to the Eastern Beaches to the point where commuting to the city takes between 35 to 45 minutes. Much of the residential development in the Eastern Beaches could not have occurred without it being possible for households to commute to Hobart for employment. Figure 6.17 gives distance by road from the Hobart GPO to selected points within the Eastern Beaches. Depending on where a household is located, it is between 35 kilometres (Lewisham) and 50 kilometres (Primrose Sands) from the Hobart GPO to the Eastern Beaches.

**Figure 6.17 Distance by Road From Hobart GPO to Selected Points in the Eastern Beaches (kms)**

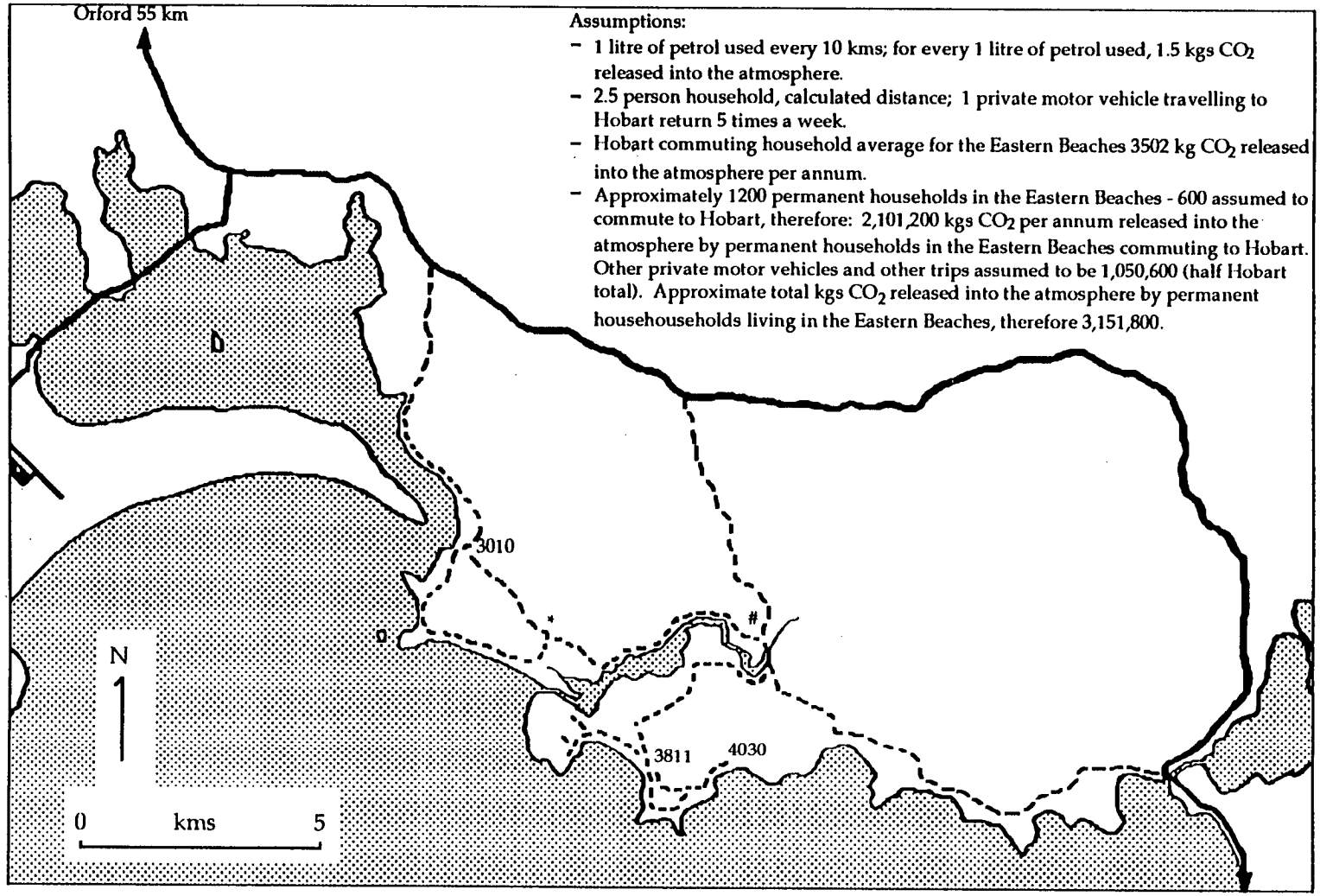



* - Via Carlton Road 41.3, via Carlton Beach Road 44.2
\# - Via Carlton Road 47.1, via Sugarloaf Road 43.2

One of the consequences of it being possible for households to access outlying semiurban areas with few local employment opportunities is that commuting distances are increased. This increase, in turn, results in the use of more petrol by commuting households. It also makes it difficult to provide an alternative to the private motor vehicle for journey to work in the form of efficient public transport. It is difficult to see where funding for the provision of even basic physical infrastructure in the Eastern Beaches, such as water, sewage, roads and drainage, is to come from. The location of low income households in semiurban areas also makes the provision of social services to low income households more difficult. For example, it is not possible for under–resourced government authorities to efficiently provide such services as public transport or CES offices and local employment and training schemes, all of which are sorely needed in the Eastern Beaches. Effectiveness is being compromised by the imperatives of economic rationalism. The low density location of low income households amongst semiurban areas around the edges of our cities works against the *in situ* development of services, low income households instead have to travel to centralised service centres. The problem is doubled edged, it involves both the nature of development and the nature of service provision. Changing one without the other (unco–ordinated and self–centred departmental economic rationalism instead of an informed and co–operative approach to the management of development and services) may result in the short term balancing of departmental budgets but it also compounds both the short and long term problems of low income households located in isolated and poorly serviced semiurban areas.

Figure 6.18 gives approximate $CO_2$ emissions by kilogram per annum for a typical commuting household from selected points in the Eastern Beaches. $CO_2$ emission being directly related to distance travelled (assuming standard private motor vehicle performance and grade and gradient of roads) more $CO_2$ is emitted by households commuting from further away from Hobart. On average, a commuting household in the Eastern Beaches, calculated as being made up of 2.5 persons and making five return journeys to Hobart a week, is responsible for emitting approximately 3 502 kilograms of $CO_2$ each year. If half of the approximately 1200 households in the Eastern Beaches are assumed to have a member commuting to Hobart for employment, then approximately 2 101 200 kilograms of $CO_2$ are emitted by households commuting to Hobart from the Eastern Beaches per annum. When

**Figure 6.18 Approximate Carbon Dioxide Emissions Per Annum for a Typical Commuting Household at Selected Points in the Eastern Beaches**




* - Via Carlton Road 3182, via Carlton Beach Road 3447
\# - Via Carlton Road 3671, via Sugarloaf Road 3369

households' other private motor vehicles and non–Hobart bound journeys are considered, as well as the journeys of non–commuting households, total kilograms of $CO_2$ emitted due to journeys made by household members in private motor vehicles living in the Eastern Beaches per annum is over 3 million.

The implication of this conservatively calculated scenario in the Eastern Beaches for semiurban areas around Hobart is a considerable total emission of kilograms of $CO_2$ per annum. There are approximately 49 960 people living in semiurban areas around Hobart. At 2.5 persons per household this figure represents approximately 19 984 households; one third of these households are assumed to commute to Hobart for employment. Again being conservative, if a typical semiurban commuting household is assumed to live 25 kilometres from the Hobart GPO and make five return journeys to Hobart per week then this household will emit approximately 1 950 kilograms of $CO_2$ per annum. Thus, 12 988 950 kilograms of $CO_2$ per annum are emitted by semiurban households commuting to Hobart for employment. When households' other private motor vehicles and non–Hobart bound journeys are considered, as well as the journeys of non–commuting households, total kilograms of $CO_2$ emitted due to journeys made by household members in private motor vehicles living in the semiurban areas around Hobart per annum is nearly 20 million. The higher density development of 'leapfrogged' areas such as the Rokeby Valley and the Acton Corridor would have reduced this figure by nearly half. Such consolidated development would also have made public transport provision and use more viable. Currently, however, low income households are, both publicly and privately, encouraged to locate in cheaper outlying areas, the servicing of which is difficult. Slowing urban sprawl and providing an acceptable urban housing option for low income households would, among other things, require both the publicly led restructuring of the land and housing market as well as public intervention in the appropriation of suitable land and in the subsidy of affordable housing. Such options, however, are currently socially, economically and politically unacceptable. The established operational structures of the land and housing market and the state are presently incapable, and/or unwilling, of meaningfully addressing social and environmental issues associated with the outgrowth of our cities. This theme is developed below.

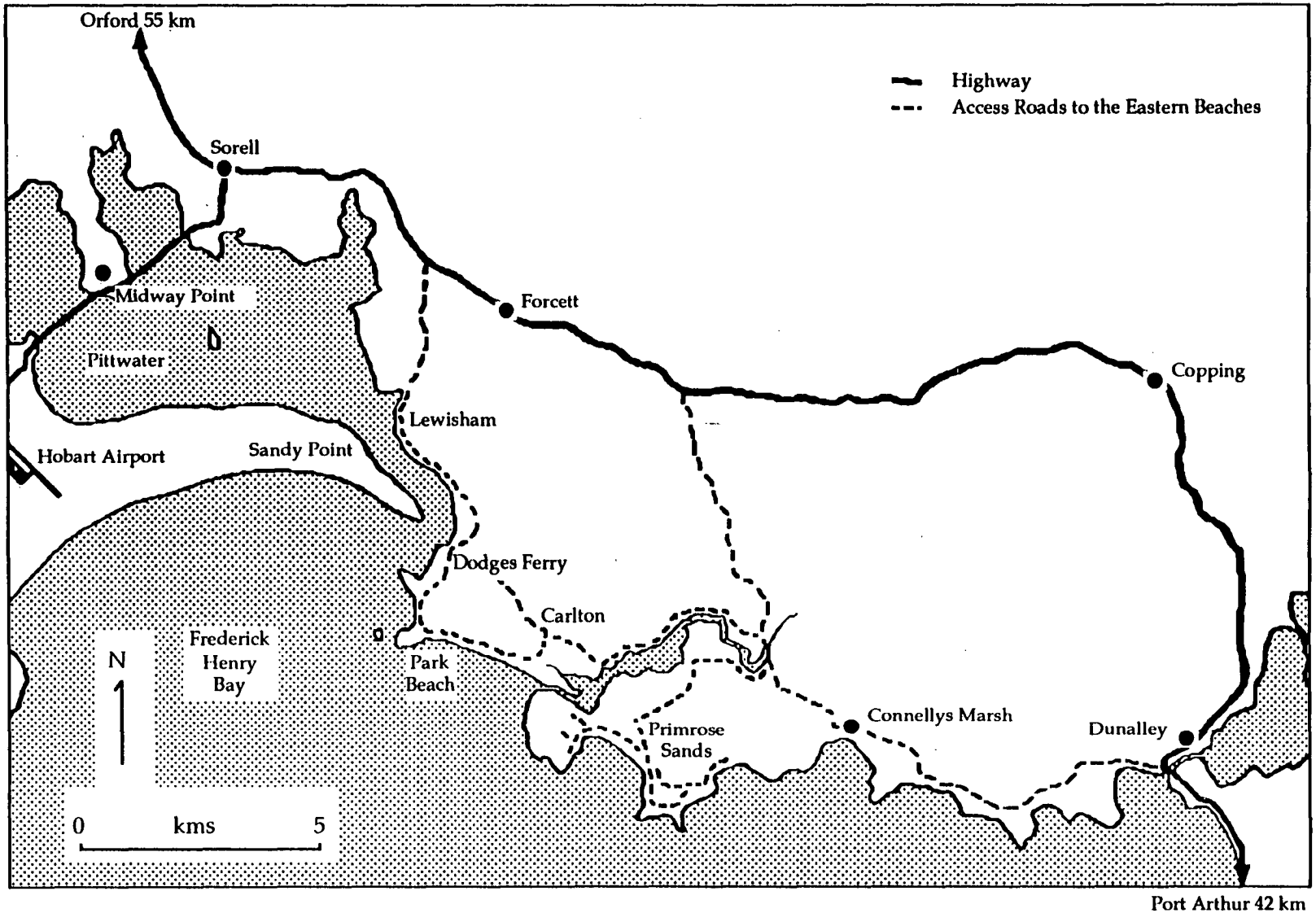
# 7.0 THE EASTERN BEACHES

There are three parts in this chapter: first, the presentation of secondary data for the Eastern Beaches; secondly, the presentation of primary data for the Eastern Beaches; and, finally, the presentation of researched and perceived natural environmental impacts and issues in the Eastern Beaches.

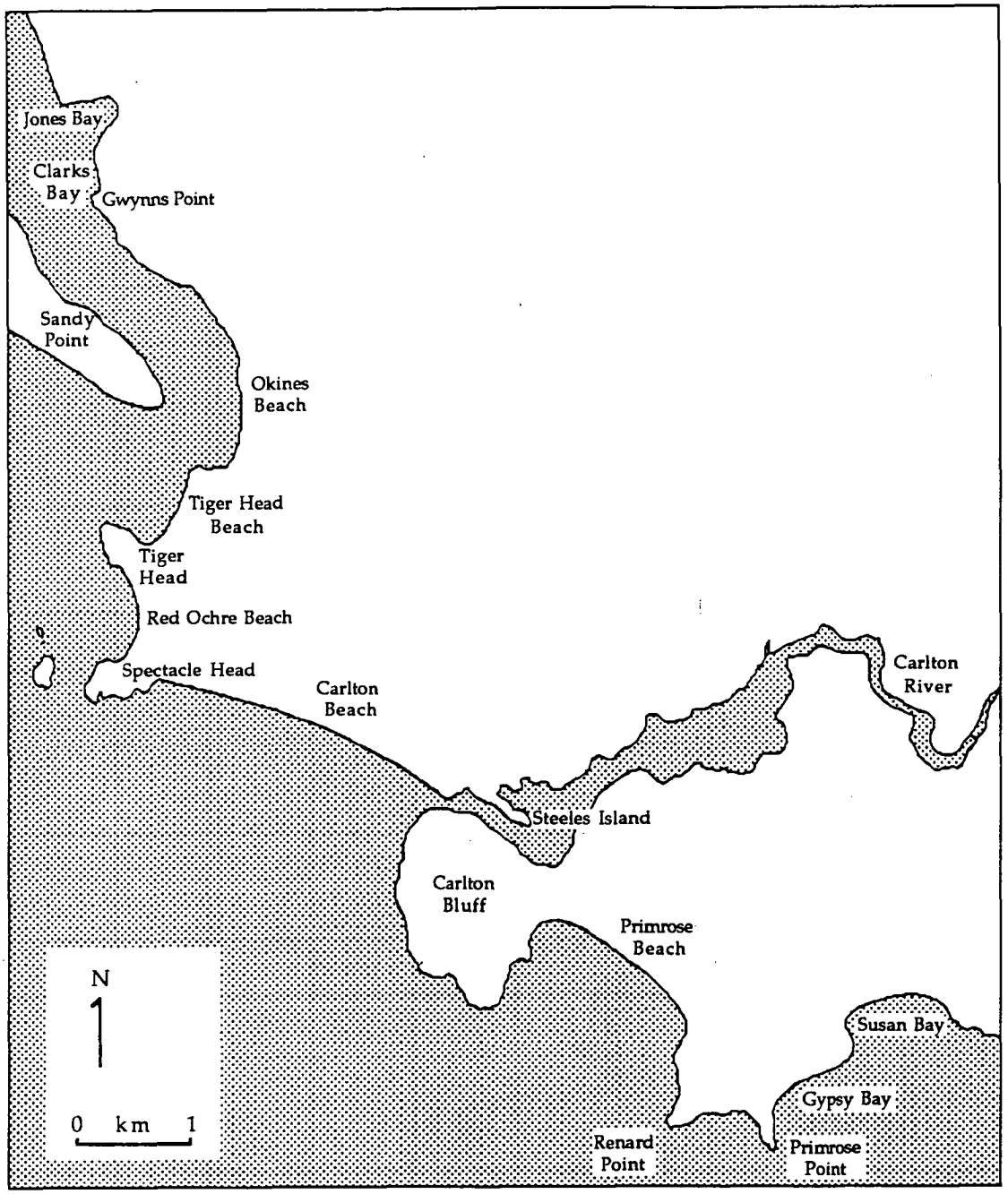
First, a history of settlement in the vicinity of the Eastern Beaches between 1790 and 1948 is given in Dobson and Williams (1978). In short, by 1819 Pittwater and Sorell had been developed into important agricultural districts which, prior to the development of the road system, transported produce to Hobart by sea (Figure 7.1 and Figure 7.2 give place names in the region of Sorell and the Eastern Beaches). Lewisham and Carlton were settled in the 1820s though farming in the area of the Eastern Beaches was only marginal due to low rainfall and relatively poor soils with the major produce being stock fodder. Dodge's Ferry ran from Sandy Point to Lewisham. Ferry operations ceased around 1873 following the completion of a causeway from Sorell across to Pittwater in 1862 ("The Spec News" No. 73 June–July 1990). The jetty at Dodges Ferry, however, was still receiving considerable commercial use at the turn of the century. By the 1920s the Dodges Ferry jetty was no longer being used for commercial purposes and its dereliction resulted in its demolition around 1950.

In 1948 about 40 dwellings were evident in Lewisham, Okines Beach and Dodges Ferry. By 1956 "The Mercury" (19/1/56 in Penny [1991]) reported that "Beach Resorts Make Rapid Growth". Following improved access associated with growing Eastern Shore residential urban areas, the Eastern Beaches had "become one of the most popular holiday centres in Tasmania, with a continuous line of houses [from Lewisham to the Carlton River]". Already it was noted that holiday homes were being lived in permanently with some residents commuting to Hobart. By 1966 there were some 614 dwellings in Lewisham, Dodges Ferry and Park Beach. Dobson and Williams (1978) document incipient commuter residential development between 1966 and 1976. They reveal a miniature of the transition from holiday home to residential area documented in this study between 1976 and 1991. By 1976 nearly 700 people lived permanently in the Eastern Beaches in over 200 dwellings, many permanent dwellings being ex–holiday homes. There was "a polarisation to both ends of the age range"

**Figure 7.1 Sorell and the Eastern Beaches**



## Figure 7.2 Names Given Physical Features in the Eastern Beaches



evident in the demographic profile of the area with "the usual factors attracting the 20 to 34 year age group . . . [being] the relative cheapness of building allotments and dwellings, cheaper rates because of the lack of service provisions and fewer planning restrictions in the area" (Dobson and Williams 1978 p45). By 1976 "the district [was] beginning to undergo a transition towards a commuter residential centre" (Dobson and Williams 1978 p45).

## 7.1 EASTERN BEACHES SECONDARY DATA

Table 6.6 showed that the permanent population in the Eastern Beaches rose by approximately 160 per cent between 1976 and 1991. The permanent population of the Eastern Beaches as a proportion of the total population of the Sorell LGA increased by approximately 10 per cent between 1976 and 1990/91, from 23.2 per cent to 33.5 per cent. Table 7.1 gives increase in permanent population for areas within the Eastern Beaches between 1976 and 1991. From 1981 these areas are five, namely Lewisham, Dodges Ferry, Park Beach, Carlton and Primrose Sands (Figure 7.3 gives collectors district boundaries in the Eastern Beaches). The seven areas given for 1976 reflect pre–1981 collectors district boundaries. The two sets of data given for 1991 indicate the difference between population calculations based on an area's persons per household ratio and that for Hobart's urban average. The set of data for Hobart's urban average is given as a comparison only; all comparisons over time are with permanent population estimations based upon persons per household ratios for 1986 for each area. All areas have experienced a considerable growth in permanent population, with Primrose Sands and Dodges Ferry increasing in population by approximately 200 per cent between 1976 and 1991.

Table 7.2 gives the increase in permanently occupied dwellings for areas within the Eastern Beaches from 1976 to 1991. As with permanent population, all areas have experienced a marked increase in permanently occupied dwellings, with Primrose Sands's increase being approximately 350 per cent. Table 7.3 gives the increase in intermittently occupied dwellings for areas within the Eastern Beaches from 1976 to 1986. It can be relatively safely assumed that the majority of intermittently occupied dwellings are holiday homes. Average per cent change of intermittently occupied dwellings between 1976 and 1986 for the Eastern Beaches was –16.77 per cent. This

**Table 7.1 Population Growth in the Eastern Beaches 1976 - 1991**

| | No. | Ave % pa | No. | Ave % pa | No. | Ave % pa | No. | No. | % Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1976 | 1976-81 | 1981 | 1981-86 | 1986 | 1986-91 | 1991* | 1991# | 1976-1991 |
| Lewisham | 269 | 5.42 | 342 | -1.28 | 320 | 4.74 | 396 | 478 | 47.21 |
| Dodges Ferry | 139 | 7.32 | 190 | 11.04 | 295 | 8.06 | 414 | 435 | 197.84 |
| Park Beach/Carlton West | 303 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Park Beach | - | - | 195 | 11.38 | 306 | 6.66 | 408 | 478 | 109.23^ |
| Carlton East | 129 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Carlton East/Carlton West | - | - | 527 | 3.26 | 613 | 7.7 | 849 | 878 | 61.1^ |
| Primrose Sands | 159 | 12.32 | 257 | 9.88 | 384 | 7.64 | 531 | 636 | 233.96 |
| Total | 999 | 10.24 | 1511 | 5.38 | 1918 | 7.08 | 2598 | 2905 | 160.06 |

* Population projection based upon Sorell Council Rate Records 1991
Permanently Inhabited Dwellings - 1986 area concerned persons per household
\# Population projection based upon Sorell Council Rate Records 1991
Permanently Inhabited Dwellings - 1986 Hobart Urban Average persons per household
^ 1981 - 1991 (%)

Source: ABS Collectors Districts 1976-1986, Sorell Council Rate Records 1991

Figure 7.3 Collectors District Boundaries in the Eastern Beaches

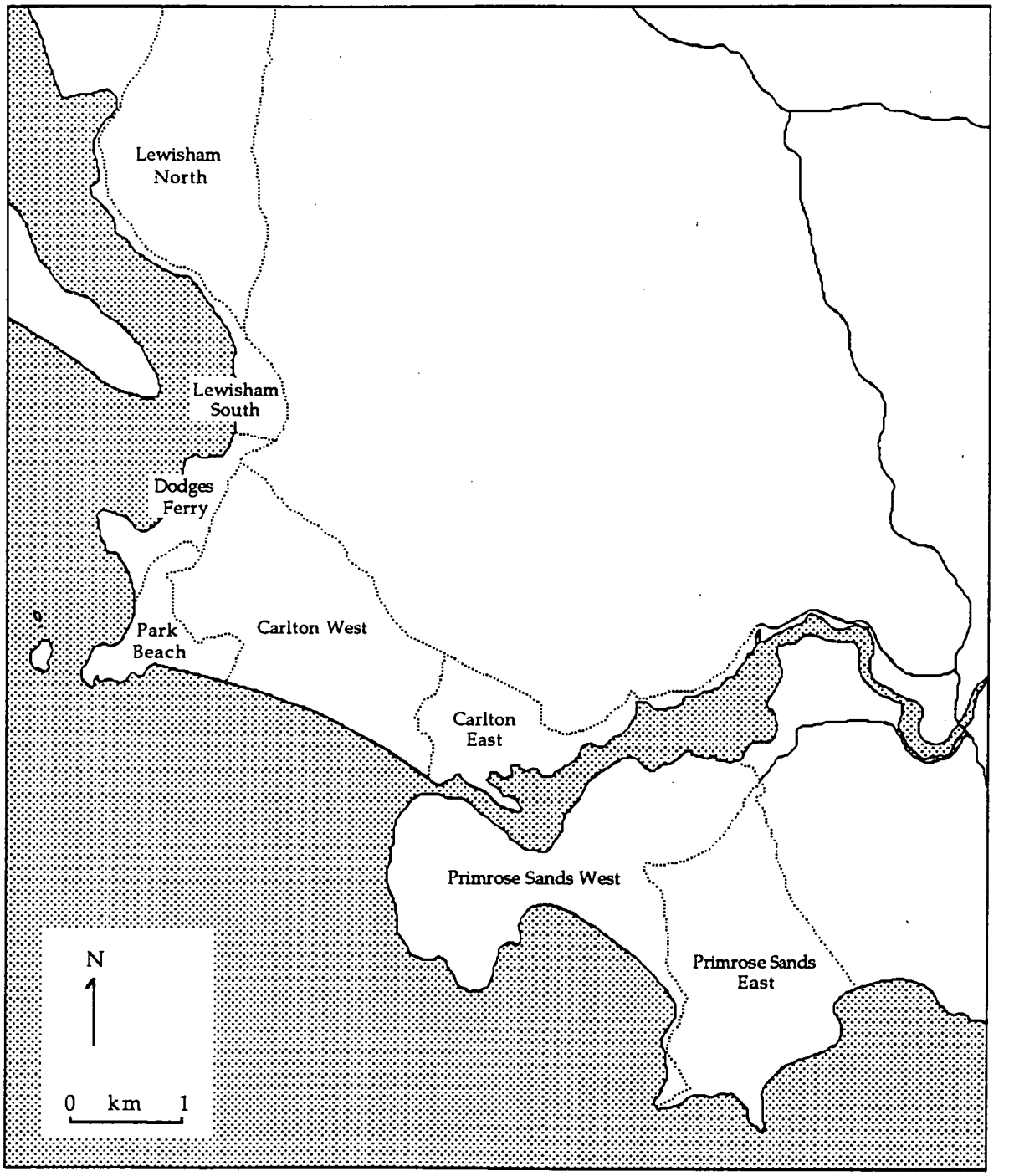


**Table 7.2 Increase in Permanently Occupied Dwellings in the Eastern Beaches: 1976 - 1991**

| | | | | | % Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 | 1991 | 1976-1991 |
| Lewisham | 114 | 141 | 132 | 164 | 43.86 |
| Dodges Ferry | 54 | 76 | 106 | 149 | 175.93 |
| Park Beach/Carlton West | 116 | - | - | - | - |
| Park Beach | - | 71 | 123 | 164 | 130.99 |
| Carlton East | 38 | - | - | - | - |
| Carlton East/Carlton West | - | 173 | 217 | 301 | 73.99 |
| Primrose Sands | 46 | 104 | 157 | 218 | 373.91 |
| Total | 368 | 565 | 735 | 996 | 170.65 |

Source: Census 1976-1986, Sorell Council Rate Records 1991

**Table 7.3 Increase in Intermittently Occupied Dwellings in the Eastern Beaches: 1976 - 1986**

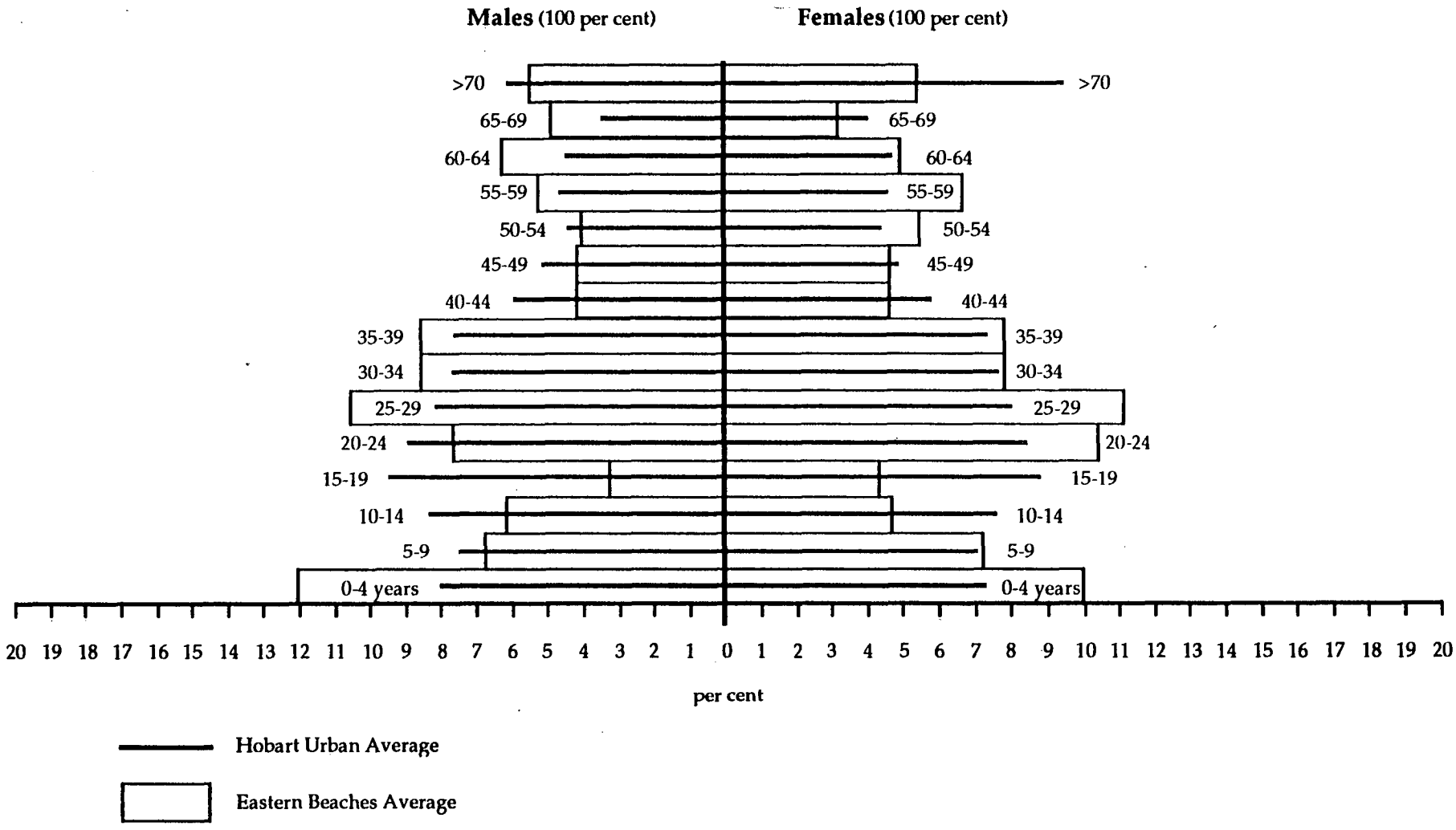
| | | | | % Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1976 | 1981 | 1986 | 1976-1986 |
| Lewisham | 100 | 99 | 101 | 1 |
| Dodges Ferry | 208 | 174 | 185 | -11.06 |
| Park Beach/Carlton West | 338 | - | - | - |
| Park Beach | - | 145 | 201 | 38.62 |
| Carlton East | 278 | - | - | - |
| Carlton East/Carlton West | - | 405 | 192 | -52.59 |
| Primrose Sands | 430 | 473 | 448 | 4.19 |
| Total | 1354 | 1296 | 1127 | -16.77 |
| Total Permanently and Intermittently Occupied Dwellings | 1722 | 1861 | 1862 | 8.13 |

Source: Census 1976-1986

figure supports observations by local real estate agents that many permanent residences were previously holiday homes. Total dwellings in the Eastern Beaches rose by 8.13 per cent between 1976 and 1986.

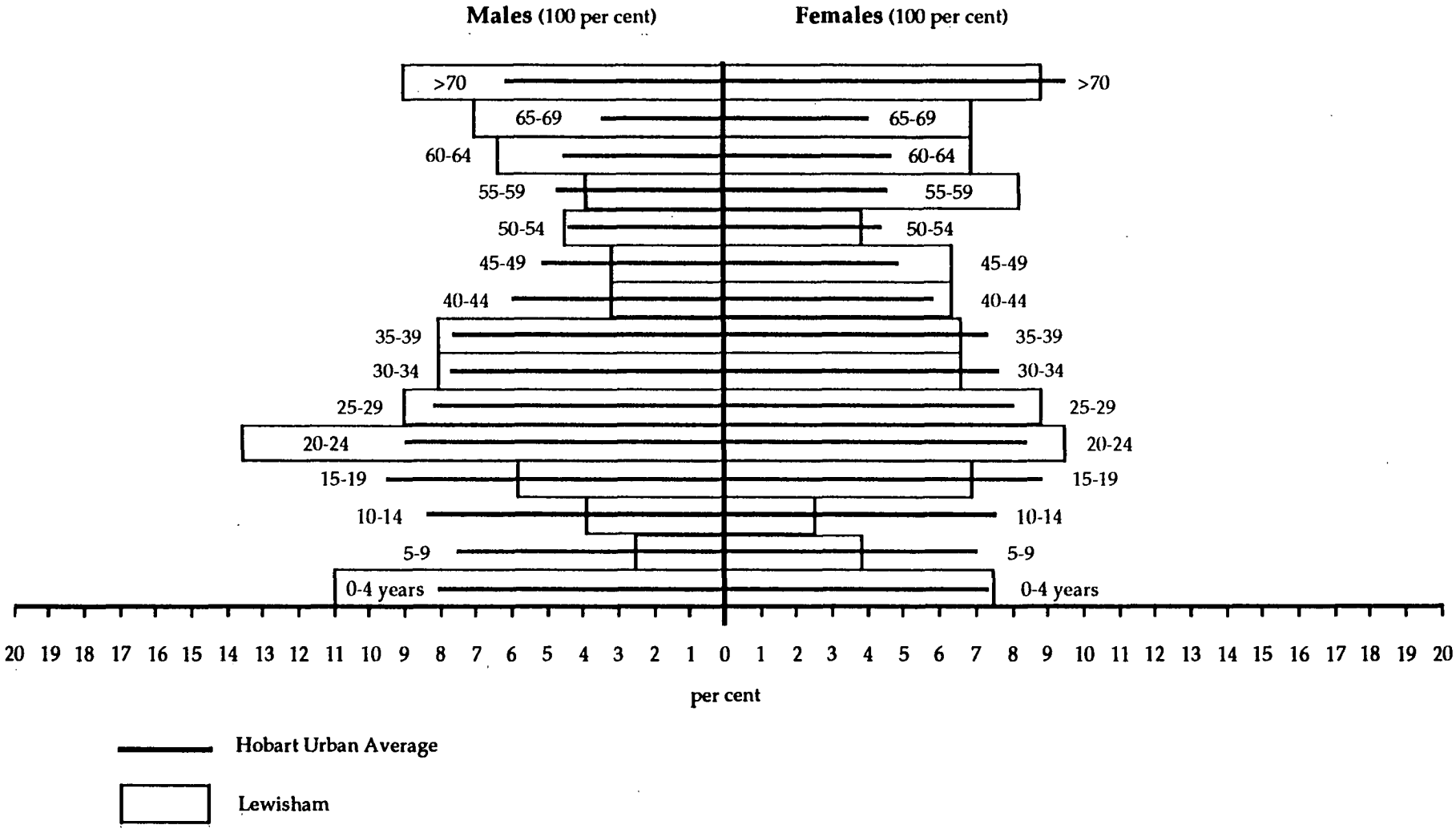
Figures 7.4 to 7.9 give the demographic profile for the Eastern Beaches and each of its areas in comparison with the demographic profile for Hobart's urban average for 1986. Percentage for each sex totals 100 so as to highlight change between each age cohort. One problem encountered with collectors district data for 1986 was that data for

**Figure 7.4 Demographic Profile for Eastern Beaches: 1986**



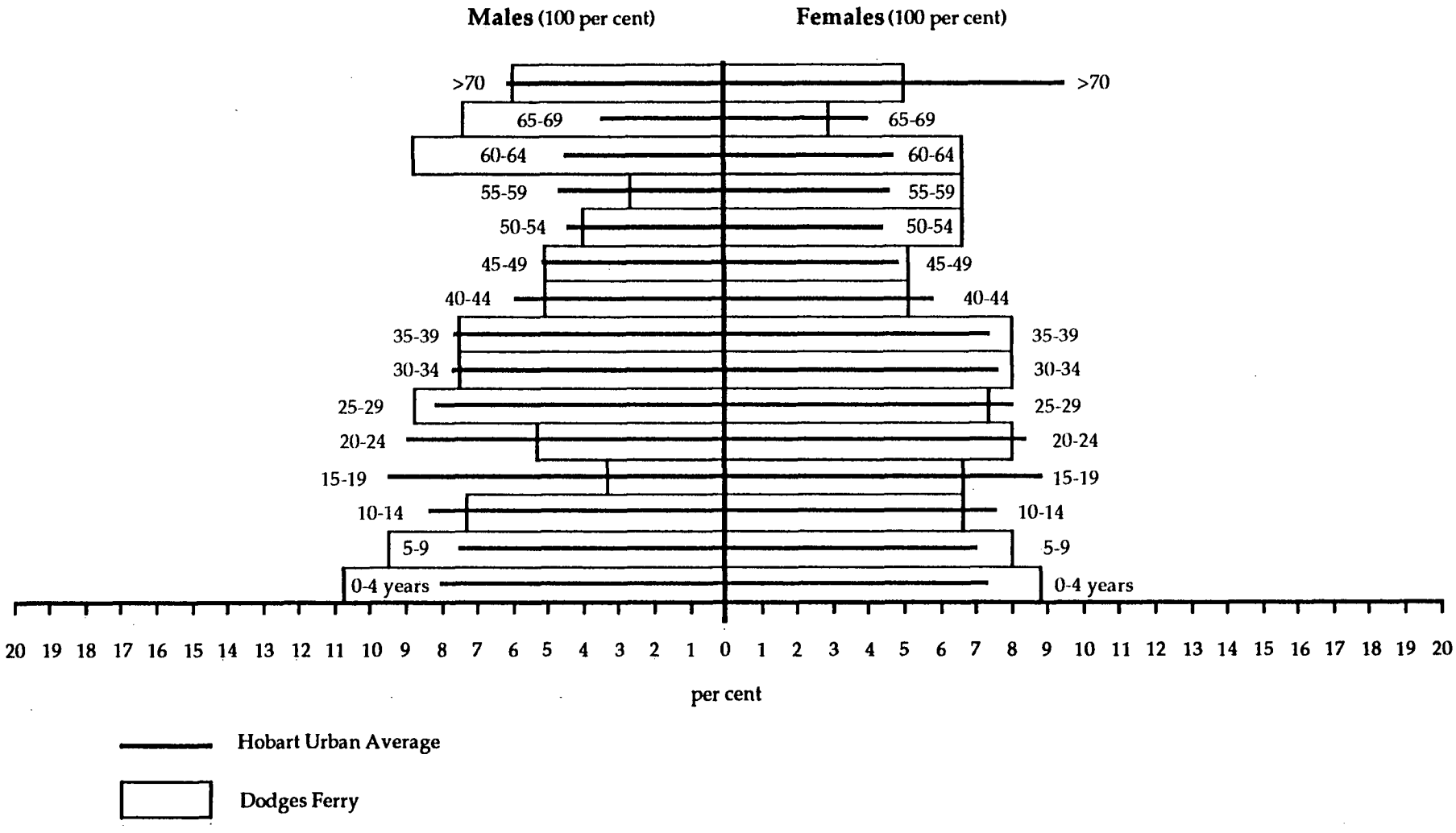

Source: Census 1986

**Figure 7.5 Demographic Profile for Lewisham: 1986**



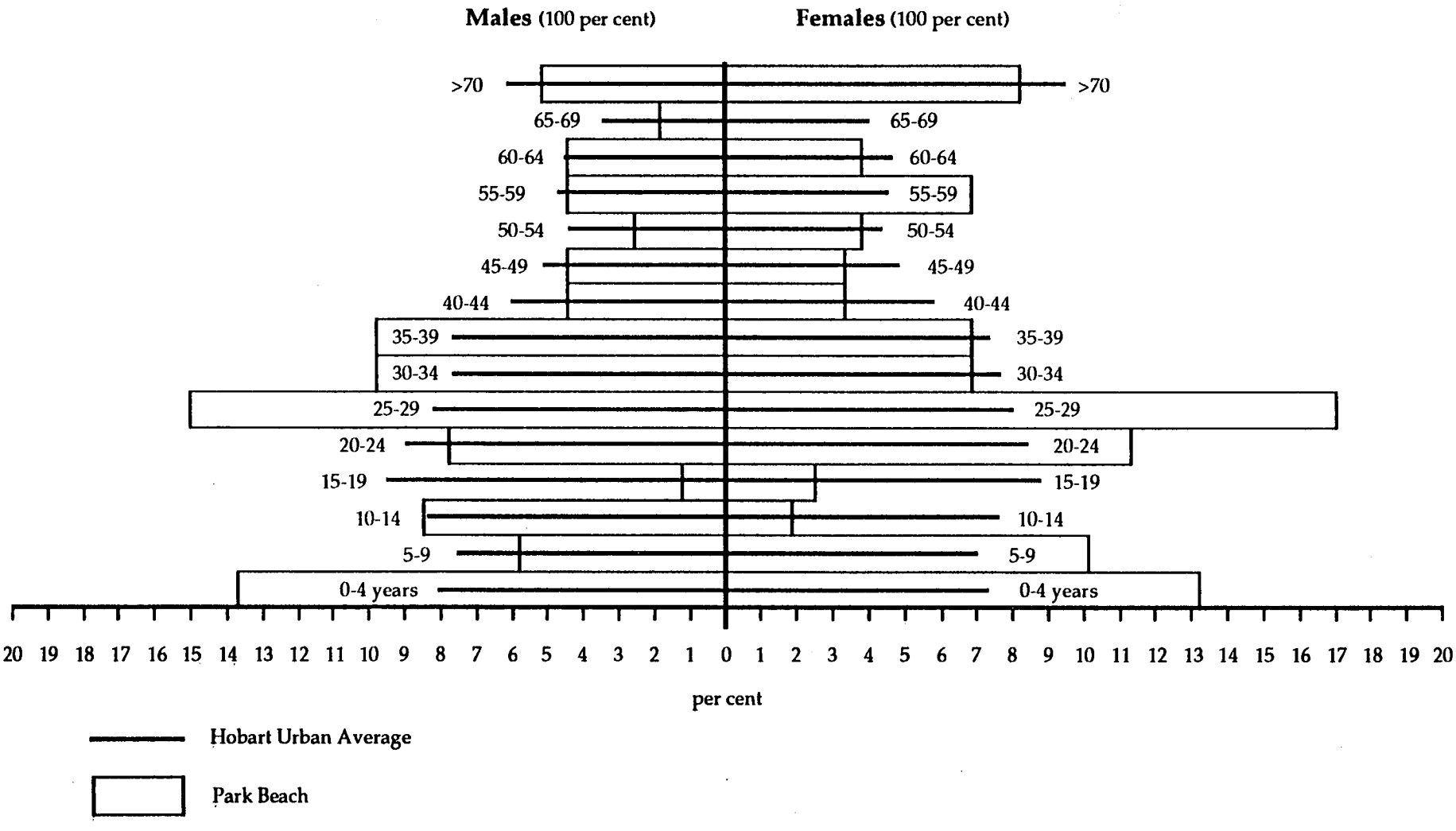

Source: Census 1986

**Figure 7.6 Demographic Profile for Dodges Ferry: 1986**



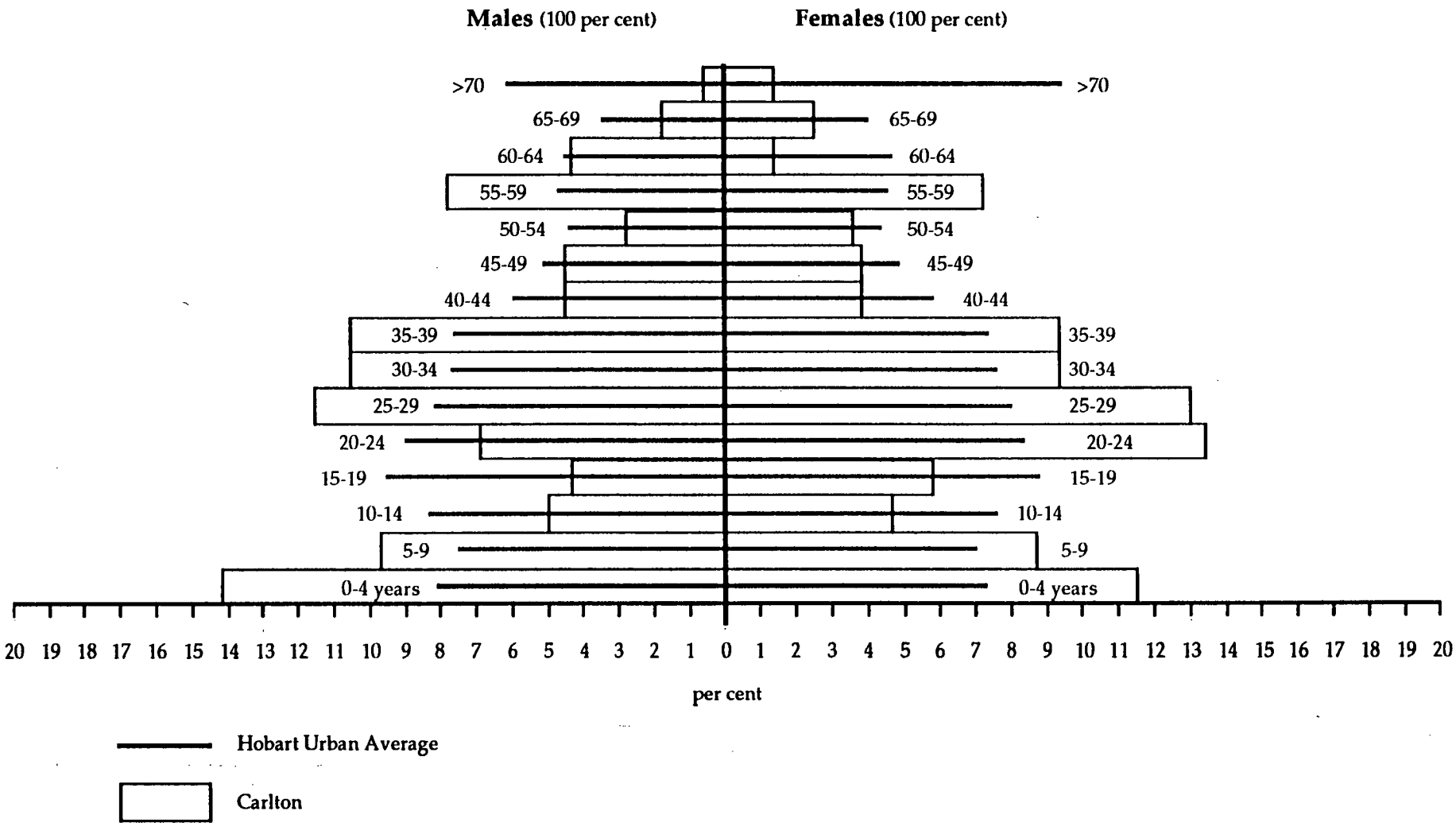

Source: Census 1986

**Figure 7.7 Demographic Profile for Park Beach: 1986**



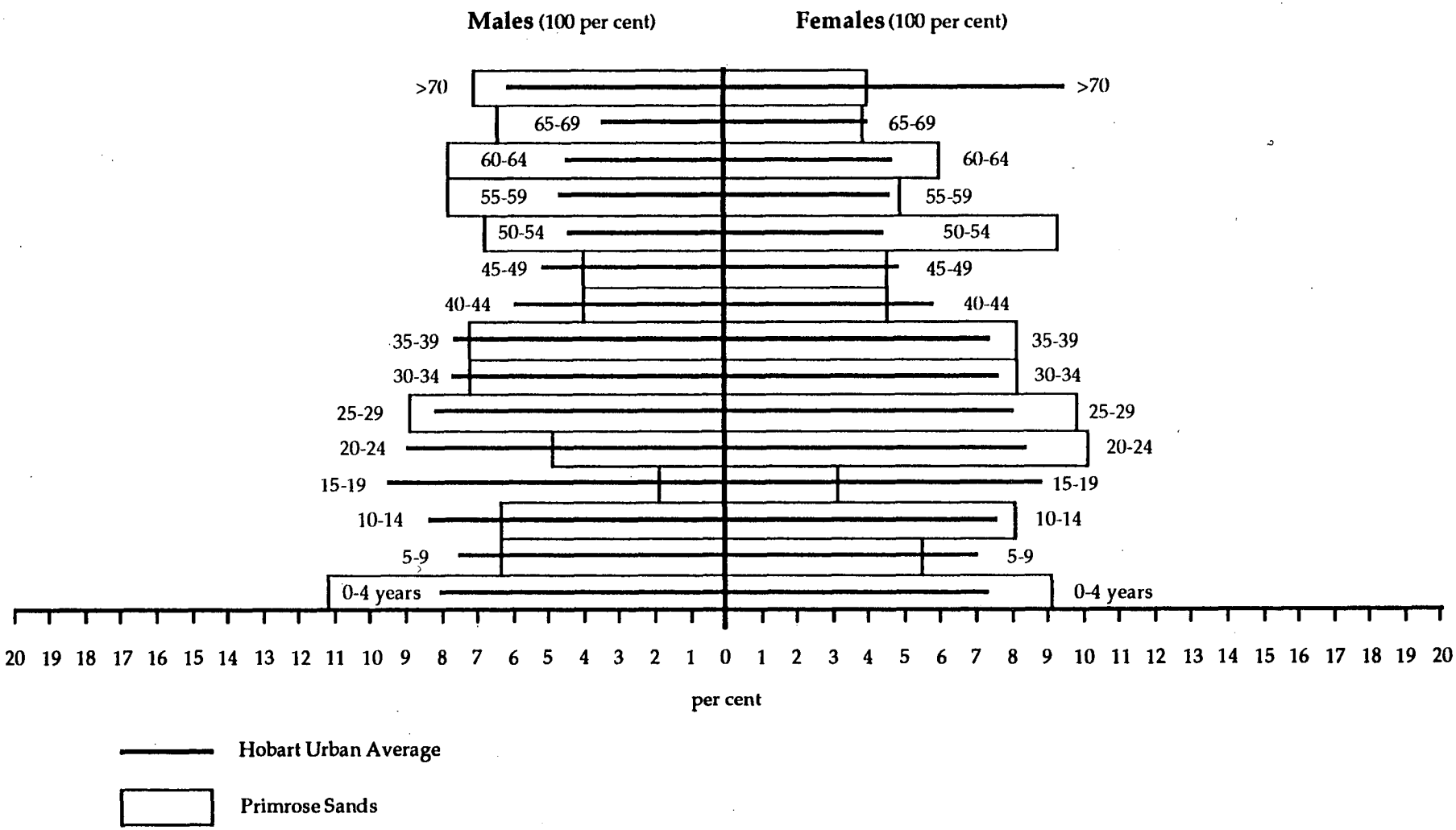

Source: Census 1986

**Figure 7.8 Demographic Profile for Carlton: 1986**




Source: Census 1986

**Figure 7.9 Demographic Profile for Primrose Sands: 1986**




Source: Census 1986

cohorts 30–39 and 40–49 are given only in 10 yearly intervals. Five general observations can be made concerning each area within the Eastern Beaches. First, in no case did the Hobart urban average for the 0–4 age group exceed that for the Eastern Beaches. Secondly, in no case did the Hobart urban average for the 15–19 age group not exceed that for the Eastern Beaches. Thirdly, in only one case did the Hobart urban average for the 25–29 age group exceed that for the Eastern Beaches. Fourthly, for the Eastern Beaches, the retirement and prospective retirement age cohorts between 55–64 (when many households move to their place of 'young old' retirement) are consistently higher than the Hobart urban average. Finally, the equal to or more than 70 age group for the Eastern Beaches is consistently lower than for the Hobart urban average. In short, in 1986 many young families were newly resident in the Eastern Beaches, as reflected by the over–representation of young children and young parents and the under–representation of teenagers in comparison with the Hobart urban average. At the same time, 'young old' retirees and prospective retirees in the Eastern Beaches were over–represented while the 'old old' were under–represented, indicating the move back into the city made by many of the 'old old' once aged care support services were needed. (A social worker in charge of assessing priority for institutional aged care at the St Johns Park Nursing Home stated that the elderly in the Eastern Beaches were institutionalised approximately two years earlier than elderly living in urban areas with aged care support services.)

Table 7.4 gives the nature of occupancy for areas within the Eastern Beaches for 1986. Approximately 14 per cent more households were outright home owners in the Eastern Beaches compared with Hobart's urban average. This reflects the fact that many retirees, prospective retirees and second home buyers are either moving into their already owned holiday home or are "cashed up" by the sale of their existing home elsewhere and thus can afford to buy or build a home outright in the Eastern Beaches. ('Second home' in this study means not the first home purchased [purchasing/owning only one permanent home at a time]. Thus the 'second home' may in fact be the third, fourth or tenth home purchased over a household's lifetime, though in no case in the interview survey was a second home buyer not literally a 'second' home buyer. 'Second home' does not mean holiday home. 'Holiday home' is defined as being an additional dwelling of a household which is used intermittently, primarily during weekend and holiday periods for the purpose of recreation.) There are also more home purchasers in the Eastern Beaches in comparison with Hobart's

urban average. This reflects the number of young households taking advantage of the relatively cheap cost of land and housing in the Eastern Beaches to buy their first home. Renters, mostly private, are under–represented in the Eastern Beaches as the two main attractions, namely cheap land and housing and the natural environment, are not directly relevant to renters; renters are usually low income households which can not afford to place the natural environment above convenient location regarding employment and services, though this is possible as Case Study 8 demonstrates below.

**Table 7.4 Nature of Occupancy of Occupied Private Dwellings in the Eastern Beaches 1986 (%)**

| | Owners | Owner/Purchasers | Renters (Public & Private) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lewisham | 53.2 | 37 | 9.5 |
| Dodges Ferry | 48.4 | 41 | 10.5 |
| Park Beach | 36.2 | 46.5 | 17.2 |
| Carlton | 44.4 | 38.9 | 16.5 |
| Primrose Sands | 58.7 | 32.5 | 8.6 |
| Eastern Beaches | 48.1 | 39.1 | 12.4 |
| Hobart Urban Average | 33.8 | 35.9 | 27.9 |

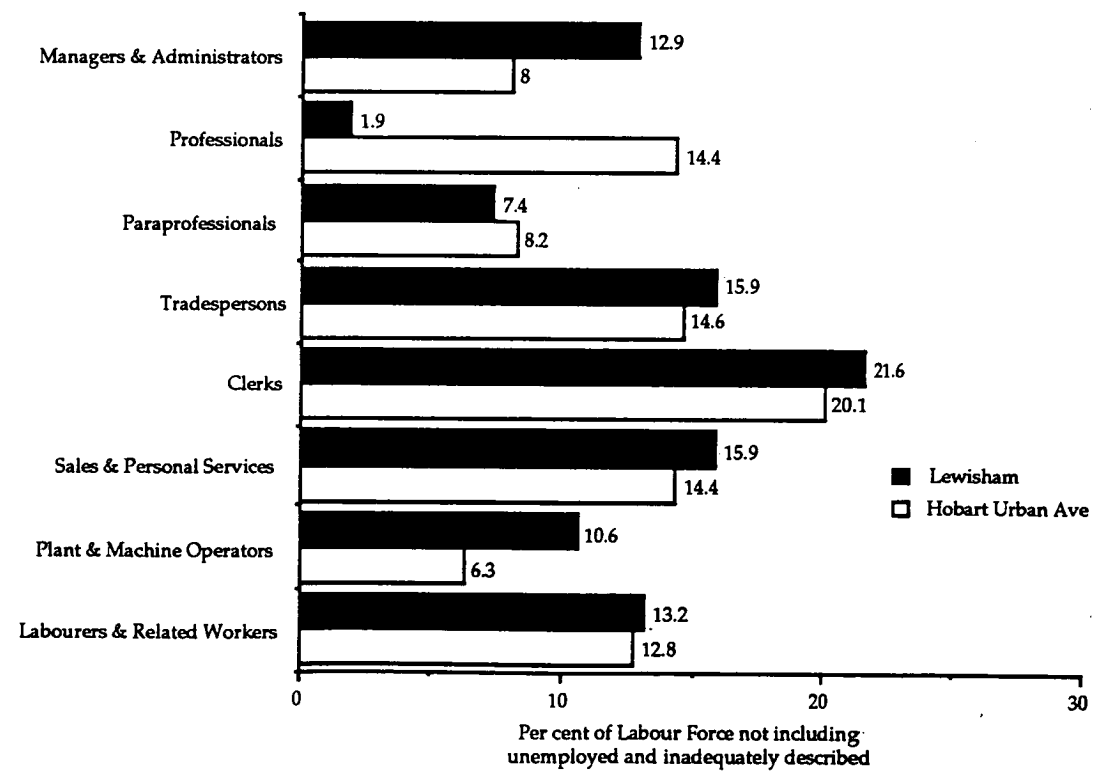
Source: Census 1986

Figures 7.10 to 7.15 give labour force occupational profiles for the areas within the Eastern Beaches in comparison with that for Hobart's urban average for 1986. Differences are most notable at the margins of the labour force. For example, the proportion of tradespersons and labourers and related workers in the Eastern Beaches exceeds the proportion for Hobart's urban average in every case. Semiurban predominantly male trade based employment in the Eastern Beaches is "healthy, this is where all the building is". (In this but especially the following section, quotes from the interview survey, often in the vernacular, are used. It is important that, where possible, the language of the locals is used to convey their feelings and opinions so as to emphasise that it is real people in real situations which are being discussed). On the other hand, only Carlton had a proportion of professionals which exceeded the proportion for Hobart's urban average.

## Figure 7.10 Occupational Profile for the Eastern Beaches and Hobart's Urban Average 1986

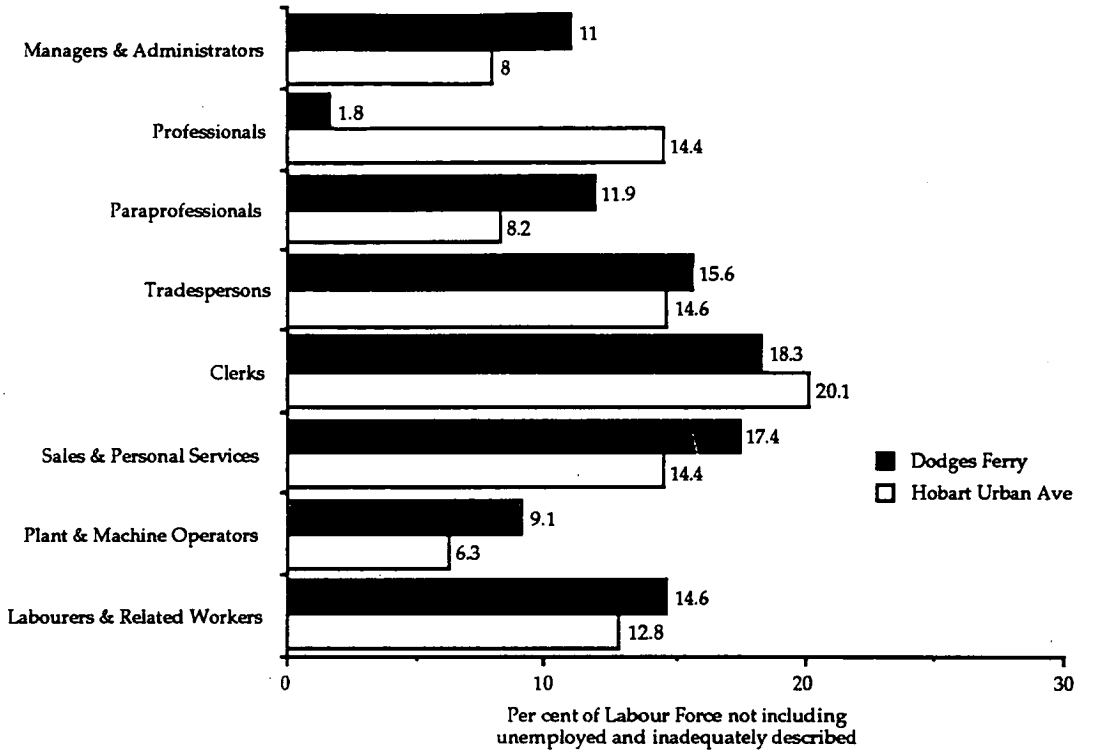

Source: Census 1986

## Figure 7.11 Occupational Profile for Lewisham and Hobart's Urban Average 1986



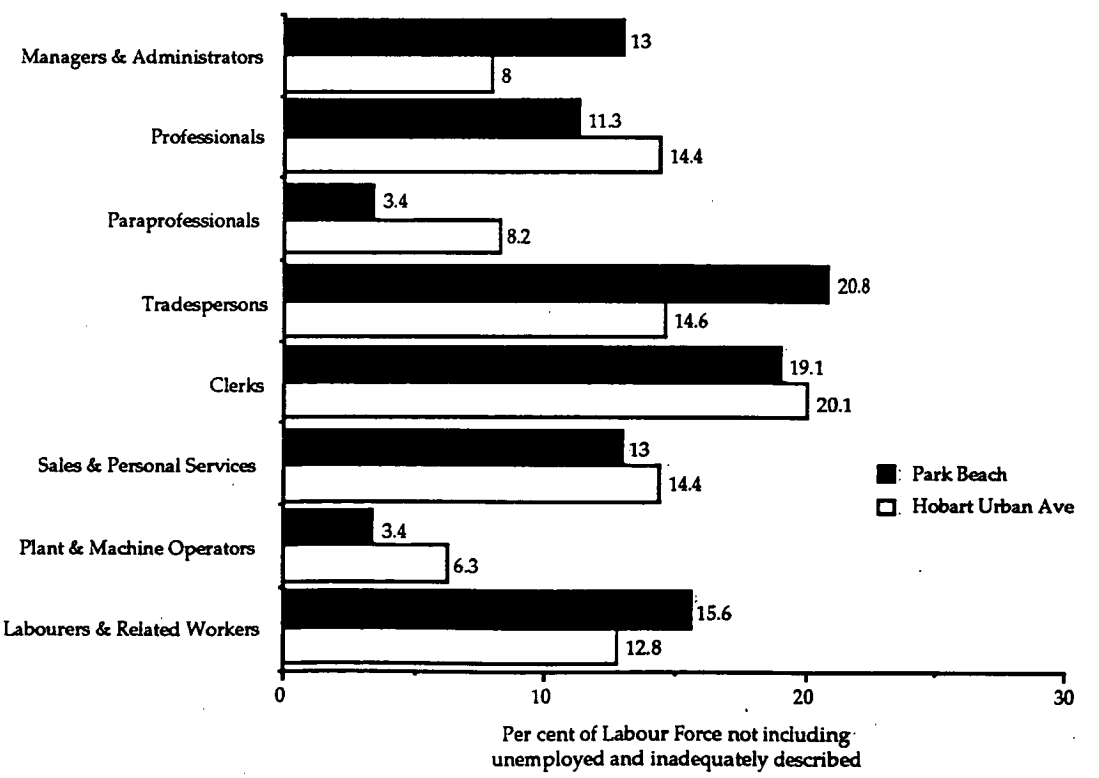

Source: Census 1986

## Figure 7.12 Occupational Profile for Dodges Ferry and Hobart's Urban Average 1986



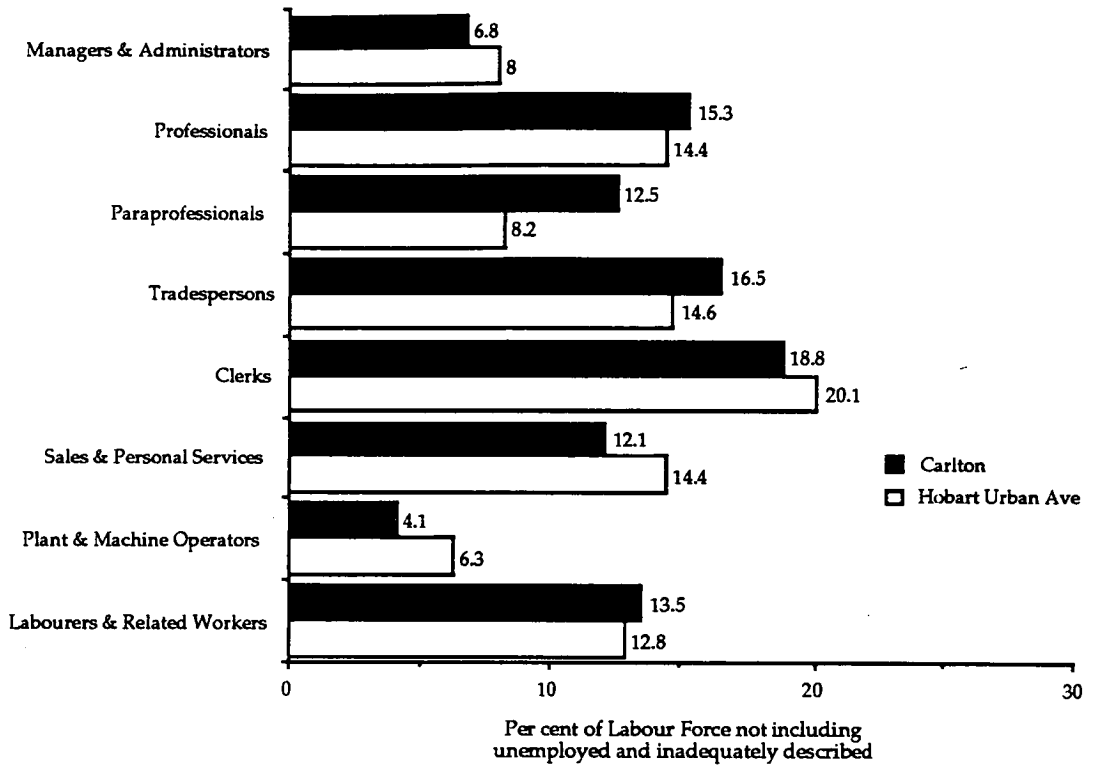

Source: Census 1986

## Figure 7.13 Occupational Profile for Park Beach and Hobart's Urban Average 1986



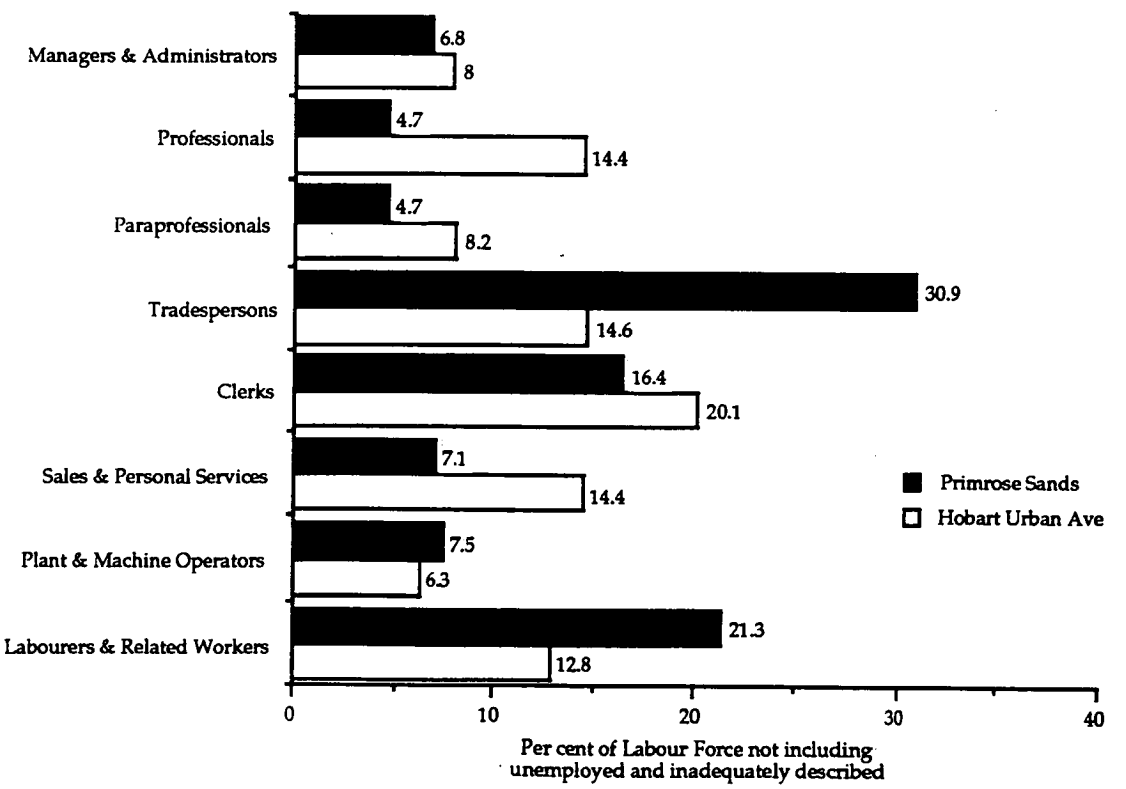

Source: Census 1986

## Figure 7.14 Occupational Profile for Carlton and Hobart's Urban Average 1986




Source: Census 1986

## Figure 7.15 Occupational Profile for Primrose Sands and Hobart's Urban Average 1986




Source: Census 1986

Table 7.5 gives labour force status of the population aged 15 and over, unemployment rate and percentage of households with no vehicle for 1986 in the Eastern Beaches. Average labour force participation for the Eastern Beaches is little different than that for the Hobart urban average. Within the Eastern Beaches, however, there is considerable variation in labour force participation. For example, Primrose Sands has a labour force participation rate of less than 50 per cent while the rate for Lewisham is more than 60 per cent. The unemployment rate is significantly higher for the Eastern Beaches than for the Sorell LGA or Hobart's urban average. Primrose Sands has a particularly high level of unemployment. Employed labour force participation in Primrose Sands is especially low when the high unemployment level and the high number of eligible residents not in the labour force are considered. Despite isolation from many basic services, nearly 5 per cent of households in the Eastern Beaches were without a car in 1986.

**Table 7.5 Eastern Beaches, Sorell LGA and Hobart's Urban Average: Labour Force Status and Households with No Car (%)**

| | In Lab Force | Not In Lab Force | Unempl Rate | Households No Car |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lewisham | 62.3 | 37.5 | 9 | 4.5 |
| Dodges Ferry | 57.9 | 42 | 17.3 | 6.4 |
| Park Beach | 61.9 | 38 | 12.5 | 7.5 |
| Carlton | 59.1 | 40.8 | 15.4 | 2 |
| Primrose Sands | 47.4 | 52.5 | 34.9 | 6.2 |
| Eastern Beaches | 57.7 | 42.2 | 17.8 | 4.9 |
| Sorell LGA | 60.8 | 39.1 | 10.6 | - |
| Hobart Urban Average | 59.3 | 40.7 | 9.3 | 14.6 |

Source: Census 1986

Differentiating between the areas within the Eastern Beaches is difficult for two reasons. First, despite the extensive profiles presented, each area is characterised by heterogeneity. Secondly, the extensive profiles presented reveal no clear distinctions, save that between the northern and southern ends of the Eastern Beaches. Thus, there is a discernible difference between Lewisham and Primrose Sands, but in between the picture is ambiguous.

## 7.2 EASTERN BEACHES PRIMARY DATA

There are four parts in this section: first, the discussion of broad survey characteristics; secondly, discussion of processes and issues arising from the survey; thirdly, the presentation of nine case studies by household type; and, finally, the discussion of issues related to the perspectives of strategically placed 'overviewers' of the Eastern Beaches.

Two vehicle counts were conducted in the Eastern Beaches, both between 4.45 pm and 5.45 pm on a Wednesday. This period of time was selected so as to record the journey back from work traffic peak mentioned by interviewees. The first count was conducted at the Arthur Highway – Lewisham Road intersection on the 23/10/91. The second count was conducted at the Arthur Highway – Sugarloaf Road intersection on the 6/11/91 (for the location of these intersections see Figure 6.17). Both the number of vehicles and the number of persons per vehicle were recorded. The ratio for Lewisham Road was 146 people for every 100 vehicles while the ratio for Sugarloaf Road was 125 people for every 100 vehicles. Car pooling was not considered to be an option by many of the households interviewed due to the "hassles" involved as well as the preference many households had for shopping and errand running on the way to and from work. Due to the time and cost involved travelling to Hobart many households, upon moving to the Eastern Beaches, found that a trip to Hobart for many necessary services became a "planned expedition" so as to accomplish as many different tasks as possible.

If the cost of running a vehicle was considered "a strain" for many commuting households, the cost of not having access to a vehicle was considered to be greater. Not only households with no vehicle but households where the one vehicle was used by member(s) of the household for commuting, leaving the other members stranded, are isolated from often even the most basic services. Access to commercial, health, child care, employment, education and training services outside of the Eastern Beaches is difficult due to the nature of the bus service. For Lewisham, Dodges Ferry, Park Beach and Carlton, Read's Bus Service departs Monday to Friday from the Dodges Ferry Store for Hobart at 7.20 am and departs from Hobart for Dodges Ferry at 4.30 pm. An additional run is made on Monday, Wednesday and Friday leaving Dodges Ferry at 9.20 am and Hobart at 2.00 pm. Working commuters are not catered for by

this bus service, it mainly being provided for students of independent schools (students attending the Sorell and Dunalley District High Schools and the Dodges Ferry Primary School are catered for by school buses). The bus runs once on Saturday at 12.00 noon and not at all on Sunday. In Primrose Sands the bus service is even less convenient. It is also privately run and operates Monday, Wednesday and Friday departing from the Primrose Sands Store at 9.30 am and from Hobart at 4.30 pm. Many of the residents of the Eastern Beaches do not use the bus service as it either requires spending the entire day in town, takes too long, is too expensive or drops them with still a considerable distance to walk home.

### 7.2.1 Characteristics of the Households Surveyed

First, the household is the entry point used in this study. The household is, however, just one of the windows to understanding which could have been used regarding the Eastern Beaches. Another possible entry point is the "feminisation of poverty" (Huxley and Winchester 1991 p235), the way in which "processes are more complex when gender is brought into the picture and . . . they are likely to work differently for women and men" (Pratt and Hanson 1991 p242). Looking at semiurban areas as "gender – income enclaves" (Huxley and Winchester 1991 p238) adds another dimension to the understanding of hierarchies of disadvantage which goes beyond the concept of the household to examine how households are constructed and how members within households relate differently to each other as well as to capitalist structures. In short, consideration is given to the segregation of our cities along patriarchal as well as capitalist inequalities. This said, however, it is important not to lose sight of the "broader social and economic structures within which women's marginal and inferior status is located" (Watson 1988 p141). Patriarchal definitions, constructs and polarisations elide rather than deconstruct the male/female dichotomy. Inequality is rooted in the politics of power, oppression and differentiation. It is this focus that needs attention. We need to escape the presumption that specific characteristics are male or female (Watson 1988 p142). Inequality is not based upon gender but power relations. Here, the issue is one of power based discrimination of which sexism is but one interacting factor. The position of women in semiurban areas is a different perspective of a common underlying

relation, namely how capital and labour relate to distribute power and wealth in capitalist society resulting in different households having differing levels of income and amounts of wealth which, in turn, influences differential access to goods and services. Sexism interacts with the capital–labour relation to predispose different outcomes to the different sexes, as is the case for racial and other minority groups. The entry point for understanding the capital–labour relation in this study, however, is a specific income group, namely low income households. (For a related example of the use of gender as an entry point see Penny (1991) which concentrates upon the links between child care, child care facilities, household location, access to transport and employment regarding the gender division of labour in the case of Primrose Sands, a semiurban area within the Eastern Beaches.)

In this study fifty households were surveyed over an approximate six week period from September 23 to November 6 (see Chapter 5). The aim of the interview survey was to capture a wide a range of permanent households as possible as well as to identify perceived issues of importance in the Eastern Beaches.

Table 7.6 gives the six categories of household type identified by the interview survey together with the number of households in each type. Table 7.7 gives the six categories of household type identified by the interview survey by when moved and where from. These results are not statistically significant, they are given to characterise broadly interviewees and set the scene for processes and issues discussion and case study presentation. Appendix 2 gives basic information regarding interviewees and provides an overview of the context within which issues and case studies are situated. Fifty interviews provide a profile of households which adequately encompasses both the broad range of household types and relevant issues in the Eastern Beaches. The information in this subsection is provided to document for reference the profile of households from which issues and case studies discussed below is drawn.

**Table 7.6 Interview Survey: Household Types**

| | Number of Interviews |
|---|---|
| First Home Buyers | |
| TDA Finance | 11 |
| First Home Buyers | |
| Private Finance | 15 |
| Second Home Buyers | 4 |
| Retirees | 11 |
| Renters | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| Total | 50 |

**Table 7.7 Interview Survey: Household Types by When Moved and Where From**

| | Before 1980 | | 1980 and After | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Within Sorell LGA | Outside Sorell LGA | Within Sorell LGA | Outside Sorell LGA |
| First Home Buyers | | | | |
| TDA Finance | - | - | 6 | 5 |
| First Home Buyers | | | | |
| Private Finance | 1 | 1 | 5 | 8 |
| Second Home Buyers | 1 | - | 2 | 1 |
| Retirees | - | 5 | - | 6 |
| Renters | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | - | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Total | 2 | 9 | 15 | 24 |

### 7.2.2 Processes and Issues in the Eastern Beaches

*Processes*

Two broad groups of households were found to be locating in the Eastern Beaches, namely high income/high choice households and low income/low choice households. The opportunity and constraint spectrum to which each of these groups relate is different. High income/high choice households are not as concerned with basic life issues such as how and where they can afford a home. They are usually second home buyers for whom it is possible, due to either superior income or wealth, to consider quality of life issues. Not being particularly constrained by income or the need to meet

basic housing requirements, high income/high choice households can afford to place quality of life above locational disadvantage. Low income/low choice households, while appreciating quality of life, first need to meet basic housing requirements. The need to purchase a home within their price range often outweighs the disadvantages of the home's location. For low income/low choice households environmental quality of life is cold comfort if locational disadvantage means that isolation from employment and services and the costs of travelling impinge upon their material quality of life. There is often, however, nowhere else that they can afford to purchase a home in an acceptable physical and social environment. Table 7.8 summarises groups for which locational disadvantage is and is not an issue.

**Table 7.8 The Effect of Locational Disadvantage**

| | | | Retirees | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | LIYFHH | Wealthy | 'Young Old' | 'Old Old' |
| Transport | Difficult | No Problem | No Problem | Difficult |
| Need | High | Low | Low | High |
| Choice | Low | High | High | High |
| Reason Locate | AH | QOL | QOL | QOL |

LIYFHH - Low Income Young Family Household
AH - Affordable Housing
QOL - Quality of Life

Transport - Access to and cost of transport
Need - Need of missing services
Choice - Other housing options within Hobart's residential extent
Reason Locate - Number one reason locate

These two broad household groups can be further broken down as follows:

High income/High choice households – Second home buyers and retirees; and

Low income/Low choice households – TDA first home buyers and private first home buyers.

The process of household location in the Eastern Beaches differs for each of these four household types. First, despite the partial deregulation of the financial market in 1986, there are many households which fail to meet the lending criteria of private financial institutions. It is these households which the TDA assists to purchase a home. The TDA offers low interest loans of up to $55 000 to first home buyers for whom it is not possible to obtain a loan from a private financial institution. The loan can either be for the building of a home or for the purchase of an established dwelling, subject to TDA approval. The total cost of the land/house package can not exceed $80 000 or involve the purchase of a block of land any larger than five acres. The gross weekly income of the principal applicant can not exceed $560 with an allowance of $25 per week for the first two dependent children under the age of 18. The TDA offers a deferred interest scheme as well as the possibility of rescheduling repayments. Currently the TDA is running its Home Finance Scheme in conjunction with the Commonwealth Home Owners Grant Scheme. The TDA, however, does not advise households where to purchase their home. (The Tasmanian Liberal Government's economic strategy for the financial year 1992/93, following its election victory in February 1992, includes selling the TDA's loan portfolio to private banks ["The Mercury" 30/4/92].)

In qualifying for a TDA loan a household enters the bottom of the home purchasing market. Even with a loan from the TDA, households can only buy in a few areas of Hobart. These areas are generally either public housing areas such as Bridgewater or semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches. Faced with a choice between stigmatised public housing areas and a transitional holiday home to residential area many low income households choose the latter. The TDA also recognises the economic sense of purchasing in outer areas (Figure 7.16). It is only later, however, and as yet unrecognised by the TDA, that isolation from employment and services and the costs imposed by travel are realised by low income households. By this stage, however, it is too late as the TDA will let a household sell their home and repay the their loan but will not help finance the purchase of another home. Many low income households in semiurban areas are thus caught in an inadvertent TDA trap.

The TDA possesses no retrieval programs for its database. Neither is it possible to gain access to the TDA's home finance files due to confidentiality. Thus, the only information that it is possible for the TDA to provide is of a short term and general nature. Between July 1990 and October 1991 the TDA approved a total of 189 loans to

Figure 7.16 TDA Advertisement for First Home Buyers Grant and Loan/Land/House Package

**IF YOU DON'T OWN YOUR OWN HOME, YOU'RE IN LUCK.**

At least you could be, if you're eligible for a first home buyers grant of up to $4,000.

You'll be able to use the grant as part of your deposit on a quality three-bedroomed, brick veneer home.

It'll be finished to a high standard and built on selected land at Austins Ferry, Brighton, Cariton, Cygnet, Huonville, Kingston, Lutana, Margate, Midway Point, Oakdowns, Old Beach or Sorell.

The total cost of the house including land will range from $70,000 with interest at the standard TDA rate of 12% p.a.

The price includes carpet, insulation, a stove, electric wall heater and a clothes line.

If you'd like to know more about the Commonwealth Home Owners Grant Scheme, phone Greg Dance on 002 20 6813 or Ann Scard on 002 20 6801.

TASMANIAN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

Source: "The Mercury" 25/4/92 p5

individual first home buying households in the Greater Hobart area, with 18 of these being in the Sorell LGA and 9 of these 18 being in the Eastern Beaches.

Secondly, low income first home buyers who do qualify for a loan from a private financial institution are in much the same position as households with TDA loans. With only a limited amount of finance they are able to buy in only a limited number of areas. Many low income households are attracted by the false economy of semiurban areas where low relative land and housing prices are actually high in relation to the quality of land, housing and services available. The cost of travel is a further burden. The major difference between households with TDA finance and households with private finance is that privately financed households can sell their home in the knowledge that they may obtain another loan for a home located elsewhere.

Up until the late 1960s many low income households would have been able to purchase a public home. Not only would they have been eligible for public housing, but housing would have been available for purchase on favourable terms and in sufficient numbers. Today public housing is welfare oriented, purchase is at market prices and public homes are no longer being built in any great number as the public housing budget has been reduced and is attenuated by rent rebates. Low income households are left to fend for themselves in the profit oriented private housing market.

Thirdly, second home buyers are generally in a different position from first home buyers. They are usually in possession of some amount of equity by way of the sale of their previous home. Second home buyers fall into two categories: first, second home buyers who are trading up; and, secondly, those who are trading down. Unlike many first home buyers, second home buyers who are trading up do not see the purchase of a home in the Eastern Beaches as a "stepping stone". Second home buyers who are trading up are in a position to build or buy, within their means, a home they like in an area with the quality of life they desire. They can afford to pay for whatever locational disadvantages that arise, indeed lack of services and isolation may well attract such households to a semiurban area such as the Eastern Beaches. Thus, not only is the environmental quality of the area important (such as the beach), so too is the character of the area (such as the bush/country/holiday atmosphere); in short the contrast that the Eastern Beaches makes with urban living.

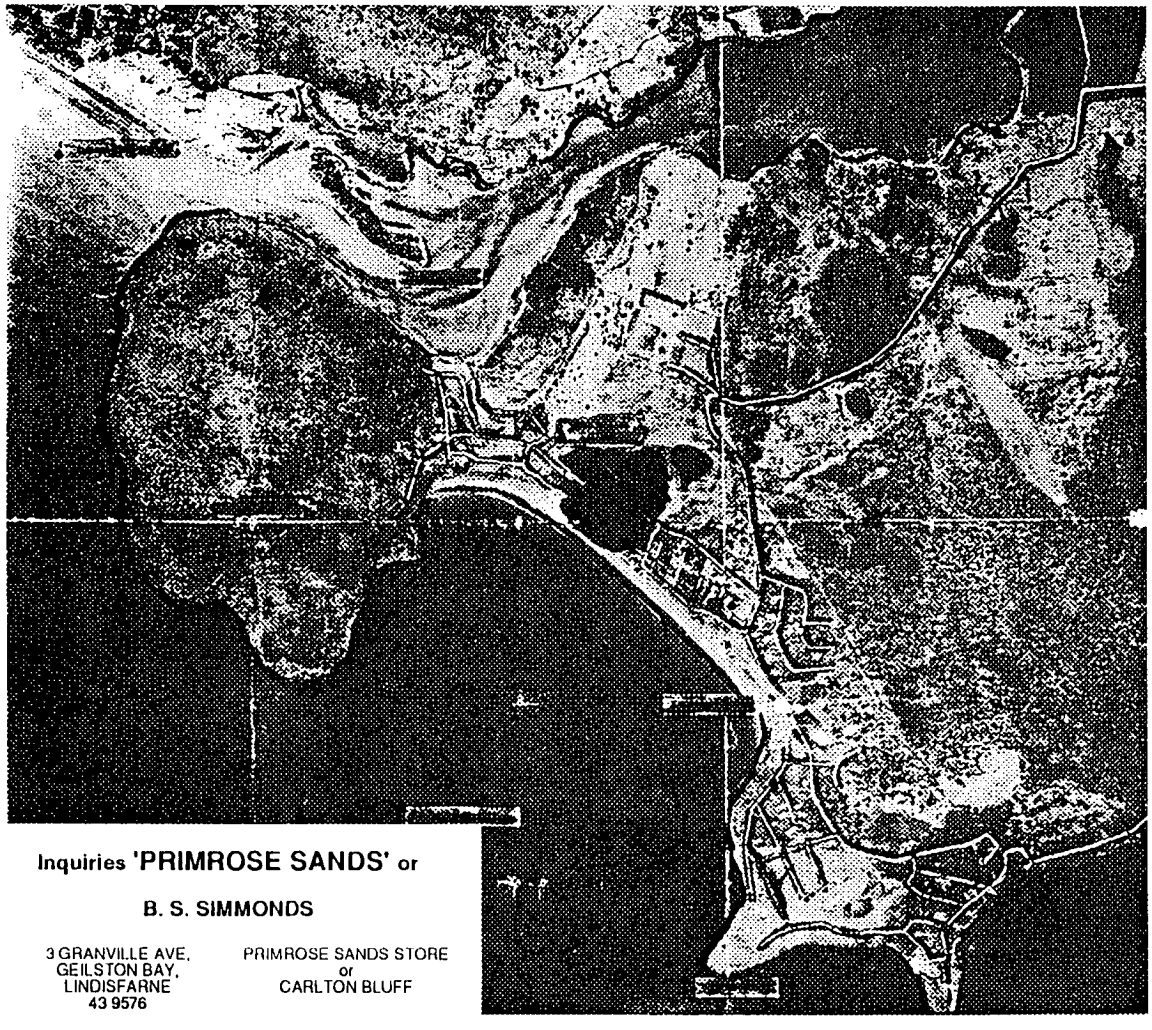
Second home buyers who are trading down are often doing so due to misfortune. For example, sickness, injury, loss of employment and separation can affect the circumstances of a household, splitting it up or reducing its income. This usually has implications for housing situation with either a part or the whole of a household having to find cheaper housing elsewhere. Such circumstances place second home buyers in a similar situation to first home buyers except that second home buyers trading down can usually salvage some amount of equity from their upheaval.

Finally, many retirees are also purchasing their second home. The difference is that retirees can expect some drop in income as well as not to need to travel outside of the area as frequently. Retirees are in a position to select for and appreciate quality of life as they may possess both wealth (accumulated over a lifetime and often in the form of

housing) and time. Thus, 'young old' retirees' income may often not be large but both their needs (compared with those of a young family) and expenses (having paid for necessities such as housing) are low. Retirees can expect to experience difficulties, however, as they come to require aged care services unavailable in the Eastern Beaches. There are two different types of retirees: first, those retiring to their holiday home; and, secondly, those purchasing or building a home in the Eastern Beaches. The first type of retiree is related, in part, to the lifecycle of a holiday home area. The bulk of the holiday homes in the Eastern Beaches were constructed during the 1960s, coincident with the amortising of many post–World War II public homes in Glenorchy and Moonah. The discretionary income released for disposal by these households in a single income oriented housing market and at a time of high real wages was often used to build or purchase a holiday home. Hobart's previous holiday home areas such as Kingston and Blackmans Bay having been developed for permanent residence, the landowners of the Eastern Beaches recognised the opportunity afforded by improved access to subdivide their land for beachside holiday home development. For example, Primrose Sands was developed in the late 1960s by the local landowner and then Sorell Council Warden (Figure 7.17). Figure 7.18 gives the location of holiday home owners for Primrose Sands in 1991. There is a predominance of holiday home ownership in northern urban areas, especially in Glenorchy and Moonah. Many of these holiday home owners have recently or are approaching retirement and many plan to retire to their holiday home in the Eastern Beaches. In the interview survey conducted by Bradshaw (1989) of post–World War II public housing residents in Moonah East, a number of households had holiday homes in the Eastern Beaches with some of these expressing an intention to retire there.

Retirees building or purchasing in the area, like second home buyers trading up, are more likely to be conspicuous land and housing consumers. Their primary concern is with quality of life and they often possess the means to indulge this concern in terms of quality housing in a quality location.

**Figure 7.17 Advertisement for Holiday Home Block Sales in Primrose Sands c. 1969**



Inquiries 'PRIMROSE SANDS' or

B. S. SIMMONDS

3 GRANVILLE AVE,
GEILSTON BAY,
LINDISFARNE
43 9576

PRIMROSE SANDS STORE
or
CARLTON BLUFF

SELF SERVICE

LAND SALES

EVERY BLOCK FOR SALE IS MARKED WITH FULL PURCHASE DETAIL ON DETACHABLE CARD.

TO RESERVE THE LOT OF YOUR CHOICE - REMOVE THE CARD AND MAIL IT TO OUR OFFICE BEFORE THURSDAY.

PRIMROSE SANDS STORE

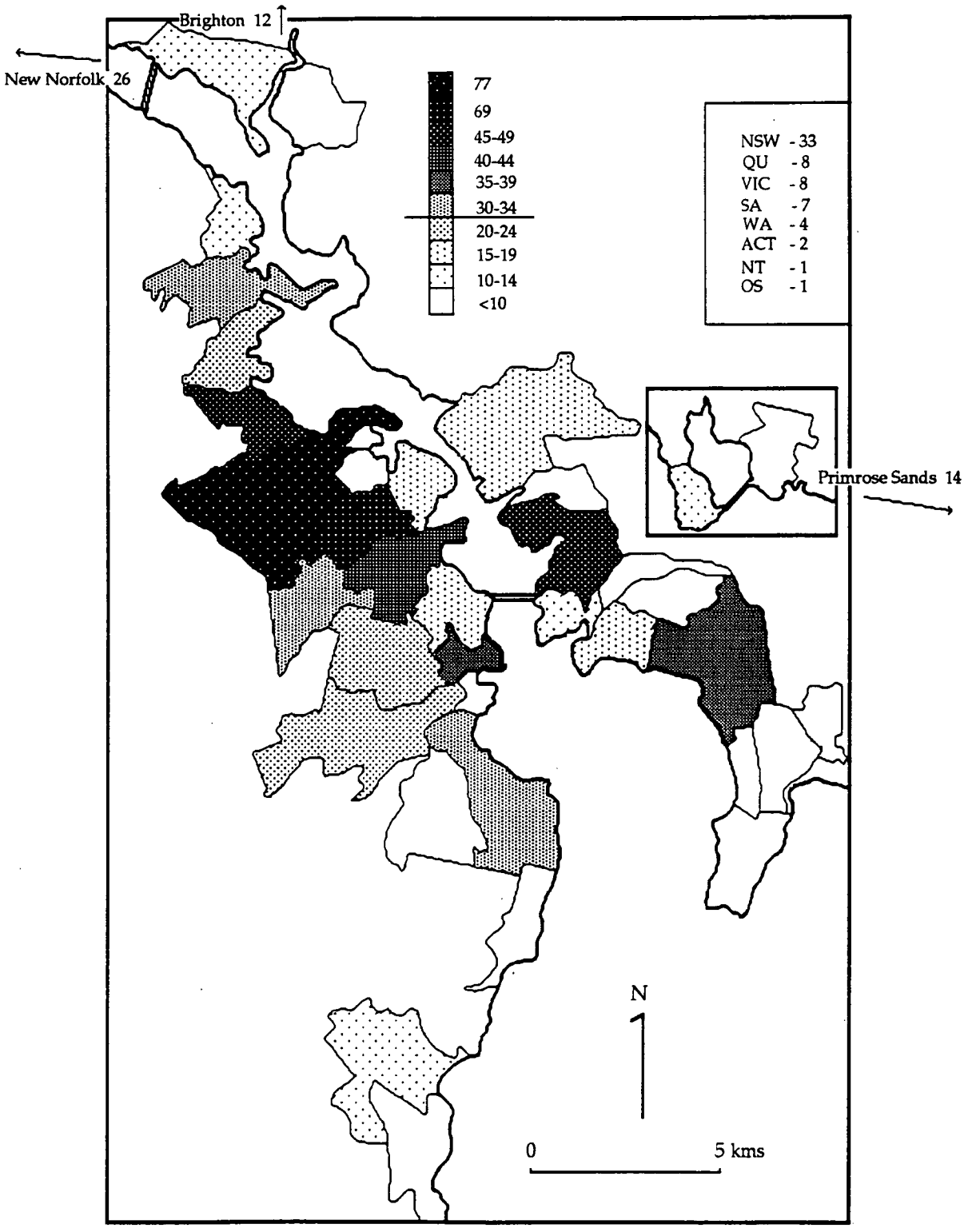
For all your holiday needs

Phone 43 9576

in evenings for advance orders or Land Sale inquiries

Source: Mr Andrew Zacharek - Son of a Primrose Sands Holiday Home Block Purchaser

**Figure 7.18 Permanent Residential Location of Primrose Sands Holiday Home Owners 1991**




Source: Sorell Council Rate Records 1991

*Issues*

In this subsection general issues in the Eastern Beaches are outlined. Issues in the Eastern Beaches can be divided into two areas, namely the natural environment and the human environment. First, on the basis of the interview survey, the natural environment is a factor in the location of most households in the Eastern Beaches. Low income households may primarily be attracted by lower land and housing prices but the Eastern Beaches is still chosen in preference to Bridgewater or Brighton. Appreciation of the natural environment is not limited to any one household type. Though relating to different ranges of choice, all households choose to live in the Eastern Beaches and degree of choice in no way correlates with degree of environmental appreciation. The need to protect the natural environment was virtually unanimously expressed, though aspects of concern and methods of environmental management proposed differed. The specifics of these concerns and proposals are discussed in Section 7.3.

Secondly, human environmental issues are more complex. On the basis of the interview survey, a factor in the location of all households is the contrast that the Eastern Beaches makes with urban Hobart. This contrast may regard the difference in land and housing prices but, as with environmental issues, low income households still choose the Eastern Beaches over urban public housing areas. The character of the Eastern Beaches, its peaceful free–and–easy holiday atmosphere and its beach and bush lifestyle, is important to the vast majority of households. First, though holiday home owners and day visitors were not interviewed for this study, conflict between "townies" who "let themselves go" after a fractious fashion concerned many permanent residents. For example, late night parties, dangerous driving, dogs, fires and glass on the beach amount to a transgression of the permanent residents' sense of decorum, though in terms of a holiday home area such behaviour is not unusual. The Eastern Beaches presently has a permanent population of approximately 3000 many of whom consider such holidaying hi–jinks to be no longer tolerable. The different perceptions of the Eastern Beaches by permanent residents (a permanently occupied residential area) and holidaying "townies" (an intermittently occupied playground) result in the use of the area by each group coming into conflict.

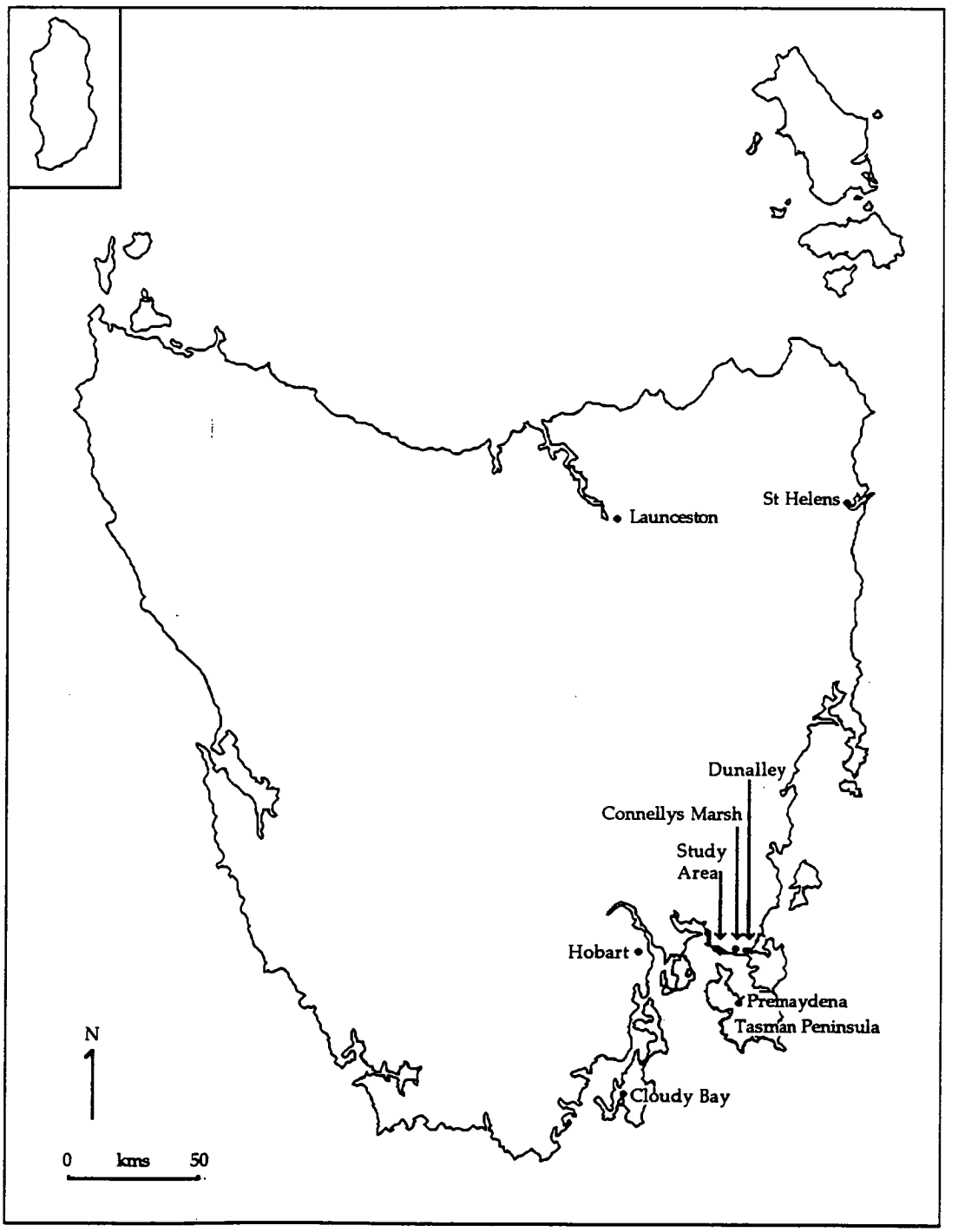
Permanent households come into conflict over the value placed upon the character of the Eastern Beaches, a value which is based, in turn, upon different reasons for locating in the area. For example, households placing more of an emphasis upon quality of life viewed positively the isolation and lack of services in the Eastern Beaches. Admittedly, these households were often in the financial position to do so but it remains that many households interviewed valued aspects which distinguished the Eastern Beaches from urban Hobart. Such aspects included the lack of reticulated water and sewage, sealed roads, consolidated development and urban services. Urban life was antipathetic to many households interviewed. The absence of urban traits was considered an important component of many households' quality of life. A number of households expressed the intention to move "further out" once, not if, the Eastern Beaches became more developed.

On the other hand, households placing more of an emphasis upon ability to purchase a home in a socially acceptable area were often low income young family households which could least afford to go without urban services and which would benefit most from the introduction of urban services. For retirees and second home buyers trading up, the Eastern Beaches is a quaint unserviced backwater as yet untouched by urban development. For low income young family households, however, the Eastern Beaches is an outreach of Hobart's land and housing market and an area in which urban development would make living easier. As the balance tips away from holiday home owners and quality of lifers towards young family households, not only the need but the pressure for urban services will mount. An increase in rates, however, was apprehended by many households interviewed; "it's going to be user pays down your throat".

As the number of permanent residents increases and urban services are developed, those not wanting either services or their costs will move further away from Hobart to repeat the process of semiurban development. Both perceptions (of quality of lifers) and conditions (of low income young family households) need to be addressed if the urban development of semiurban areas (which has previously occurred in Kingston, Blackmans Bay, Lauderdale and so on and is currently underway in the Eastern Beaches) as well as semiurban development "further down the line" is to be slowed. The interview survey identified the Tasman Peninsula, Connellys Marsh, Cloudy Bay, Premaydena, Dunalley and St Helens as areas to which households were considering

moving due to current or impending development in the Eastern Beaches (Figure 7.19). Other households, having been built around, intended to move elsewhere within the Eastern Beaches in order to buy a home on a larger block of land.

**Figure 7.19 Areas Identified by Households Interviewed in the Eastern Beaches as being Desirable Undeveloped Residential Locations**



### 7.2.3 Household Types and Case Studies in the Eastern Beaches

In this subsection the six household types identified by the interview survey are outlined. Three household types are further broken down into subtypes. Nine case studies are presented, one for each household type or subtype. The structure in this subsection is to give a general introduction to each household type which discusses common factors and differences. This is followed by the presentation of a case study, or case studies, which exemplify many of the points discussed in the general introduction. As points requiring explanation are encountered in case study discussion, the case study is digressed from to make possible the development, *in situ*, of the point encountered. The case studies are intended to help understand how general processes relating to each household type are expressed and modified in combination with the unique circumstances of an individual household locating in a particular place. Table 7.9 gives the six household types identified by the interview survey. The household types 'first home buyers' and 'second home buyers' refer to whether the house is the first or second home purchased; housing is not distinguished as currently being purchased or owned. Quotations given for each household type subsection are taken from that household type. This is also the case for case studies, with quotations given for each case study having being taken from that case study.

**Table 7.9 Household Types Identified by the Interview Survey: Case Studies Exemplifying Household Types and Exemplifying Characteristics of the Case Studies**

| Household Types | Case Studies | Exemplifying Characteristic |
|---|---|---|
| 1. TDA First Home Buyers | 1. Lewisham 6 | First Time Household Formation |
| | 2. Dodges Ferry 6 | Previous Household Formation |
| 2. Private First Home Buyers | 3. Primrose Sands 4 | Previously Publicly Housed |
| | 4. Dodges Ferry 1 | Previously Privately Housed |
| 3. Retirees | 5. Lewisham 7 | 'Young Old' |
| | 6. Park Beach 5 | 'Old Old' |
| 4. Second Home Buyers | 7. Primrose Sands 1 | Low Income Household |
| 5. Renters | 8. Carlton 2 | Household with Dependants |
| 6. Miscellaneous | 9. Carlton 5 | Common Transient Strategy |

*First Home Buyers with a TDA Loan*

Table 7.10 gives a summary of the interview survey for TDA first home buyers. A typical household building or purchasing in the Eastern Beaches using a TDA loan must do so to a standard acceptable to the TDA. Holiday homes are less likely to be accepted by the TDA as either being sufficient to cover the loan should repayments be defaulted or being in the best interests of the welfare of the household concerned. Capacity to repay, not exceeding 25 per cent of gross monthly income, means that employment at the time of taking out the loan is usually necessary. Once purchasing, however, the TDA's flexible loan repayments and Deferred Interest Scheme, together with the size of the loan, mean that repayment is possible, though difficult, if unemployed. Employment opportunities being limited in Sorell, many households had one or the other partner commuting to Hobart for work. Two vehicles were considered by many to be "a necessity", though unemployment often resulted in a family "making do" with one vehicle. All households were of the opinion that they "couldn't do without a car". The amount of money spent on petrol often belied the amount of kilometers travelled. For example, a number of those employed in Hobart, and this applies to all household types, used company vehicles or company petrol accounts. An average amount spent per week on petrol for a household in the Eastern Beaches with one member working in Hobart was approximately $70. This works out to be $280 a month and $3360 a year. This expenditure of approximately 14 per cent of median family gross annual income on petrol is often by households also contributing around 30 per cent of median family gross annual income to mortgage repayments. Such households are often young families most in need of services unavailable in the Eastern Beaches. Household takehome fortnightly income was especially low for those households without an employed member, but for households with an employed member was described as being "adequate" and "comfortable" though not "spectacular". The typical TDA first home buyer household structure was a couple aged between 20 and 30 with two dependent children under the age of 10. The most common number one reason given for locating in the Eastern Beaches was affordable housing, "the cheapest prices in the paper . . . in town was out", followed by the environment and lifestyle.

## Table 7.10 Interview Survey Summary: First Home Buyers with a TDA Loan

| Int. | Previous | Labour Force Status | | Employment Location | | Travel - Vehicles and Cost | | F/N TH HH | Household Structure | | Estimated Age | | No. 1 Reason |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Land Use | Respondent | Partner | Respondent | Partner | No. Vehicles | $ Petrol Wk | Income $ | Relationship | Dependants | Household Head(s) | Dependants | Locate |
| L6 | Block | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 20 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | Baby | AH |
| DF6 | House | Empl | HD | Sorell | - | 2 | 30 | <300 | Couple | 3 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| PB2 | HH | Empl | Empl | Local | Hobart | 2 | 40 | 600-900 | Couple | 2 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 6 | Block | Empl | Empl | Sorell | Hobart | 2 | 90 | 300-600 | Couple | 2 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 9 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 70 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 30-40 | 10-20 | AH |
| C4 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 85 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 30-40 | 10-20 | Grew up locally |
| 9 | House | Casual | - | Sorell | - | 1 | 20 | <300 | Single F | 1 | 30-40 | U10 | AH |
| PS2 | House | Unempl | HD | - | - | 1 | 30 | <300 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 5 | HH | Unempl | Unempl | - | - | 1 | 25 | <300 | Couple | 2 | 30-40 | 10-20 | Cont in Schooling |
| 6 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 30 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | Baby | Peace & Quiet |
| 10 | HH | HD | Unempl | - | - | 1 | 40 | <300 | Couple | 2 | 20-30 | U10 | Isolation |

L - Lewisham
DF - Dodges Ferry
PB - Park Beach
C - Carlton
PS - Primrose Sands

F/N TH HH - Fortnightly Takehome Household
HH - Holiday Home
HD - Home Duties
AH - Affordable Housing

Thus, ignoring variation and creating a fictitious household, the typical TDA first home buyer was a couple aged between 20 and 30 with two children under 10, having moved into an established or newly built home, with one member employed in Hobart, owning two vehicles, spending approximately $70 a week on petrol, taking home over $300 a fortnight and whose main reason for locating in the Eastern Beaches was affordable housing.

The two case studies presented of TDA first home buyers exemplify the primary difference in background circumstances for all first home buyers: namely, previously living with parents, not cohabiting with partner and not resembling the household surveyed; and renting privately, cohabiting with partner and closely resembling the household surveyed. The case studies are presented in the following order: first, a household formed for the first time at their interviewed address; and, secondly, a pre–existing household moving to their interviewed address from private rental.

Case Study 1: Lewisham 6

Both partners of this household had previously been living with their respective parents in Hamilton. Upon their decision to form a household they considered moving to other semiurban areas such as Old Beach and Brighton but found that all but the Eastern Beaches were out of their price range. They felt that renting was "a waste of money", preferring to purchase a home despite the initially high expense involved. They bought a block and built a home in 1986 for between $40 000 and $50 000 with the assistance of a TDA loan. The land and house had been recently valued at $90 000 as, due to the imminent birth of their first child and the household having only one vehicle, they were considering moving closer to Hobart, taking a chance that a private financial institution would give them a loan. The parents of one of the partners, however, gave them an additional vehicle thus making it possible for one partner to stay at home and care for the baby. This was the situation at the time of interviewing with the other partner working in Hobart. The household strongly liked living in the area, chiefly for its peace and quiet. Space and the privacy of being "a bit out of the way" were appreciated, though during the day the exodus of people to work, mainly in Hobart, left the area a little deserted. The principal service wanted

was water, with roads and drainage being of next most concern. A services–costs–development quandary, however, was expressed with services being desired but their cost and ensuing increase in development being viewed with misgivings. In short, an increase in rates could not be afforded and an increase in development, density and urban services could not be countenanced as this would destroy the valued character of the area. Development was considered to be inevitable and vaguely positive but was qualified by an appeal "not [to] get too big or dense" and to "hopefully be done sensibly":

> I don't mind development but they need to keep it nice and not get carried away and go too far too quick . . . [they need] to think about how its going to finish rather than whose pockets its going to line.

Case Study 2: Dodges Ferry 6

This household had previously been renting privately in Howrah. Tired of "throwing money down the drain" on rent, they decided to purchase a home. The Eastern Beaches was chosen as it was cheap and close to the water, thus combining "the best of both worlds . . . the only other areas we could have bought were Rokeby, Bridgewater and Chigwell". They obtained a $45 000 TDA loan with which they bought a house in 1986 for $39 000. One partner worked in Sorell while the other performed home duties involving three children under 10 years of age. After affordable housing, fishing was the main attraction of the area. The friendly atmosphere used to be appreciated but, having been built around by churlish households, they felt that the area had "lost that country atmosphere". Development of some sort, however, was seen as being inevitable. Travel was cited as a chore, especially having to pay bills in Hobart. A chemist in the area was felt to be a priority as this would encourage the use and development of the part–time doctors service, people not having to go to Sorell for prescriptions and seeing a doctor there. The lack of infrastructure in the area was accepted, the trade–off being low rates; "we knew what we were getting into". Despite being somewhat unhappy with the character of the area, being, it was felt, made up of either "young rum 'uns" or elderly, the household was powerless to move, being "locked into" their TDA loan. They felt that the community was apathetic regarding self–help initiatives and neighbourhood watch. An especial problem was

seen to be teenagers; the "fish and chip shop kids". This group was held responsible for most of the dangerous driving, excessive drinking and break–ins occurring in the area.

In 1986 when this household moved to the Eastern Beaches they felt that they were getting the best of both worlds. When interviewed, one of these worlds was considered to have disappeared due to the spate of development; "we're more here now because we have to be". Locked into a TDA loan, their home remains cheap but so too, they feel, has become the character of the area.

*First Home Buyers with a Loan from a Private Financial Institution*

Table 7.11 gives a summary of the interview survey for first home buyers with a loan from a private financial institution. A typical household building or buying a first home in the Eastern Beaches with a loan from a private financial institution is less constrained than TDA first home buyers regarding the standard of housing. Under TDA guidelines, finance will not be extended to cover fibro or other less soundly constructed holiday homes (Plate 1). Private financial institutions, however, though concerned to safeguard their loan, will often extend finance for the purchase of a holiday home providing it values well, valuation not standard of housing being their operating benchmark. Many of the homes being built in the Eastern Beaches were relatively cheap treated pine constructions (Plate 2) or, cheaper still, prefabricated "holiday cottages" from companies such as Statewide Garages, whose sales pitch is "beat the price rise" (Plate 3). Also common, as well as being a way around TDA lending criteria, is the lining of the outside of fibro or weatherboard holiday homes (which are often old "hydro homes" bought from the HEC and transported from disused hydro villages to the Eastern Beaches) with treated pine (Plate 4).

Again, employment is virtually a prerequisite for obtaining a loan; once purchasing, however, unemployment may strike at any time. If unemployed, repayments can be maintained in three ways: first, by contributing considerably more than 30 per cent of gross income to loan repayments; secondly, by having access to some alternative form of wealth; and, finally, by purchasing a cheap home so that the loan and therefore repayments are minimised. This last option applies particularly in the Eastern Beaches

## Table 7.11 Interview Survey Summary: First Home Buyers with a Loan from a Private Financial Institution

| Int. | Previous | Labour Force Status | | Employment Location | | Travel - Vehicles and Cost | | F/N TH HH | Household Structure | | Estimated Age | | No. 1 Reason |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Land Use | Respondent | Partner | Respondent | Partner | No. Vehicles | $ Petrol Wk | Income $ | Relationship | Dependants | Household Head(s) | Dependants | Locate |
| L1 | House | Empl | Unempl | Sorell | - | 1 | 50 | <300 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 4 | Block | Casual | Empl | Sorell | Statewide | 2 | 60 | 900-1200 | Couple | 3 | 30-40 | 10-20 | Family |
| 8 | Block | HD | Empl | - | Statewide | 2 | 70 | 600-900 | Couple | 1 | 40-50 | 20-30 | Lifestyle |
| 9 | HH | HD | Empl | - | Local | 2 | 40 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 30-40 | - | Envir |
| DF1 | HH | Casual | - | Hobart | - | 1 | 20 | <300 | Single F | 3 | 30-40 | 10-20 | AH |
| 2 | HH | HD | Unempl | - | - | 2 | 25 | <300 | Couple | 2 | 20-30 | U10 | Family |
| 3 | HH | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 1 | 20 | <300 | Couple | 2 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| PB1 | HH | Unempl | Unempl | - | - | 1 | 20 | <300 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 8 | HH | Empl | Empl | Cambridge | Hobart | 2 | 70 | 600-900 | Couple | - | 30-40 | - | Lifestyle/Envir |
| 10 | House | Empl | Empl | Hobart | Hobart | 2 | 70 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 20-30 | - | AH |
| C6 | Block | Casual | - | Hobart | - | 1 | 30 | <300 | Single F | - | 30-40 | - | AH |
| PS3 | House | Empl | - | Interstate | - | 2 | 30 | 600-900 | Single M | - | 50-60 | - | AH |
| 4 | Block | Empl | HD | Locally | - | 2 | 40 | <300 | Couple | - | 50-60 | - | Peace & Quiet |
| 7 | HH | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 50 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | Baby | AH |
| 9 | House | Pension | Retired | - | - | 1 | 15 | <300 | Single F | 1 | 30-40 | 70-80 | AH |

L - Lewisham
DF - Dodges Ferry
PB - Park Beach
C - Carlton
PS - Primrose Sands

F/N TH HH - Fortnightly Takehome Household
HH - Holiday Home
HD - Home Duties
AH - Affordable Housing

**Plate 1 Fibro Holiday Homes and Permanent Residences in Primrose Sands**

**Plate 2 Treated Pine Residence Overlooking Primrose Beach**

**Plate 3 A Permanent Residence in the Eastern Beaches**

**Plate 4 Ex-'Hydro' Home in the Process of Renovation (foreground) and the Lining of the Outside of a Fibro Home with Treated Pine (background)**

where relatively low value holiday homes can be purchased for permanent residence. Few first home buyers interviewed, however, demonstrated this degree of providence, many stretching their resources to purchase a home in the Eastern Beaches. As with TDA first home buyers, one member of the household is usually employed in Hobart thus requiring expenditure on travel. There is a larger range in household income among private first home buyers in the Eastern Beaches but households are concentrated in the bottom two take home fortnightly sextiles in the interview survey. Household structure is also more varied among private first home buyers, though couples aged between 20 and 30 with children under 10 are more common. Despite relatively wide ranging household structure, affordable housing is the most prevalent number one reason for locating in the Eastern Beaches.

Though less easy to typify than TDA first home buyers, the typical private first home buyer in the Eastern Beaches is a couple aged between 30 and 40 with one child aged between 10 and 20, purchasing a home, with one member employed in Hobart, owning two vehicles, spending approximately $60 a week on petrol, taking home between $300 and $600 a fortnight and whose principal attraction to the area was affordable housing.

The two case studies presented of private first home buyers exemplify one household locating from a public housing area and another from a private housing area. The case studies are presented in the following order: first, a previously publicly housed household; and, secondly, a previously privately housed household.

Case Study 3: Primrose Sands 4

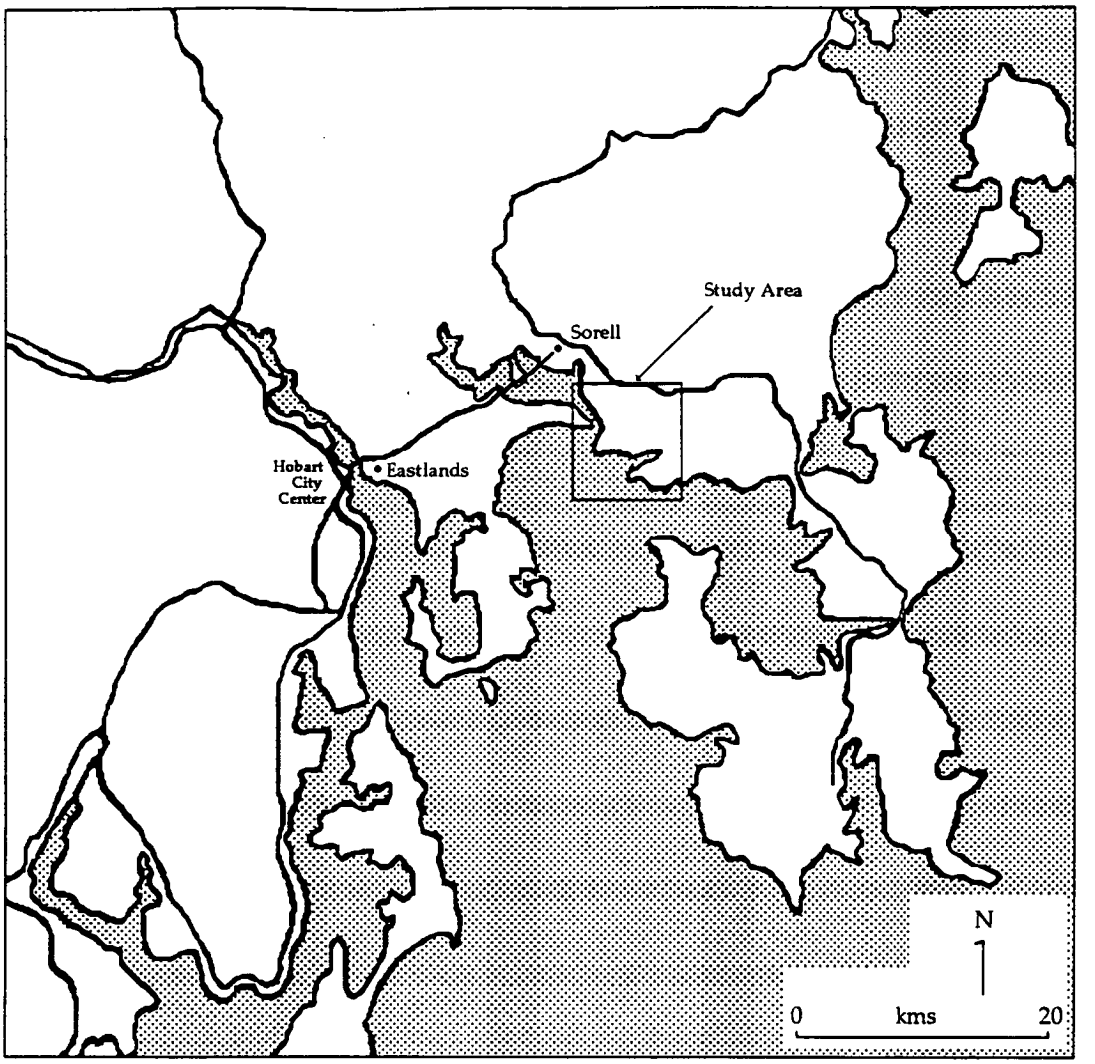
This household located in the Eastern Beaches from Gagebrook in 1986. They bought a block of land and built a home with only a small loan, the rest of the money and the bulk of the work being "off our own back". This was made easier by one partner being a builder. The couple had no children living with them, were aged between 50 and 60 and worked locally. Thus, they considered it cheaper living in the Eastern Beaches, where a household pays approximately $300 rates a year, than living in Gagebrook where a home purchaser pays approximately $900 rates a year. The drive from Gagebrook to Hobart was felt to be of a similar duration to the "fast run" from

Primrose Sands to Hobart with "no cops and no [traffic] lights". The lack of services was not perceived as a problem but as part of "a satisfying choice we made". Despite its isolation and lack of physical and social services, Primrose Sands was preferred to fully serviced Gagebrook "hands down". Living in Primrose Sands, this household felt isolated from what facilities were available in Lewisham and Dodges Ferry. Thus, an off–licence, a decent all round shop which does not exorbitantly mark up prices ("we all shop out") and a community hall were given as priorities. Only "last minute" shopping and daily necessities were bought locally by most households. Sorell was used for the bulk of requirements regarding shopping and services. Eastlands, the major shopping complex on the Eastern Shore, was next up the hierarchy of goods and services centres with, finally, Hobart being the acme for both variety and distance (Figure 7.20). In the longer term, an improved bus service and postal delivery were felt to be needed. Development which would "suburbanise" the Eastern Beaches was not wanted but, again, a sense of fatalism accompanied the wish that nothing be changed; "I don't like suburbia, but this will be like it one day". Vandalism and crime were cited as problems and were blamed upon welfare recipients. Apart from these, this household felt that its quality of life was improved by moving from Gagebrook to the Eastern Beaches, a change which was felt to be particularly good for young children:

> They may be escapees from Risdon Vale but at least they're in a healthy environment; free range kids.

Two issues were of especial concern to this household: first, the natural environment and the effect of dogs and cats upon the native fauna; and, secondly, the effect of the Sorell Council and development practice upon the native flora. Seepage from septic tanks was felt to be in evidence in the Carlton River and off Primrose Sands Beach under certain conditions. The impact of future waste disposal schemes upon the clean coastal environment was felt to need emphasis. On balance, this household was keen to protect a decision with which it was happy, namely location in a clean, cheap and "pretty place". Satisfaction, however, hinged upon local employment and a self sufficient outlook.

Figure 7.20 Location of General Commercial Services Hierarchy Patronised by Residents of the Eastern Beaches




Case Study 4: Dodges Ferry 1

This household located in the Eastern Beaches in December 1987 from Queensland. After looking around urban and semiurban Hobart, "Risdon Vale, Gagebrook and Dodges Ferry" were the only areas within which the household could afford to purchase a home. The Eastern Beaches was chosen as the stigma associated with Risdon Vale and Gagebrook as well as the undercurrent of crime and violence perceived to exist there were not felt to be evident in the Eastern Beaches. They moved into a holiday home as it was "all I could afford . . . people come down here because it's cheap to do up a shack". The holiday home and land cost $50 000 and the holiday home required alot of work to make it acceptable for permanent residence. The household structure is a single parent with three dependent teenage children. The

parent had worked within the Sorell LGA in the Oceania Seafood factory and the Ingham Chicken factory in an effort to supplement earnings from casual relief teaching in Hobart, travel to which was often a considerable proportional expense. Apart from these two sources of employment, only shop counter service existed as an employment option for this parent within the Sorell LGA.

The natural environment of the Eastern Beaches was appreciated; its clean air and water and "the country life and the beach" were utilised by the renting of a boat shed at a cost "we can little afford" of $125 a year. The flippant attitude of "townies" was criticised, their presence detracting from the character of the area; "we don't look forward to summer". Problems in the summer were cited as excessive drinking, dangerous driving, glass on the beach, hooliganism, vandalism and theft. These problems were accentuated by the situation confronted by all teenagers in the Eastern Beaches; life in the Eastern Beaches was felt to be "unmanageable without a car". With no vehicle and only an intermittent and expensive eight–to–four student commuter oriented privately run bus service, which runs virtually not at all on weekends, many teenagers tried to hitch–hike to facilities unavailable in the Eastern Beaches; "the done thing, as young as eleven, girls as well". There are no facilities for teenagers in the Eastern Beaches and their ability to travel to Hobart or even Sorell is limited; "they're just stuck here, especially with the way the bus service is, there's no next one". The "heavy metal kids" who did not frequent the beach were especially "at a loose end". With nothing to entertain them and often no one to control them, teenagers, it was felt, made their own entertainment in mischief. There is only one permanent police officer for the Eastern Beaches, stationed in Sorell. It was felt that some parents were none–too–concerned, either, about what their children "got up to". The turnover of children at the Dodges Ferry Primary School was felt to be high, indicating the transient nature of many households in the area:

> They just take their kids and go . . . they're here because they have to be not because they want to be.

Development was viewed with mixed feelings, bringing with it services and replacing itinerant households with permanent ones but at the same time threatening the character of the area due to the structure of many of the subdivisions; "its subdivision driven at the moment . . . popping up these square boxes to make a quick buck". The subdivision of land into small blocks by avaricious land owners and developers was

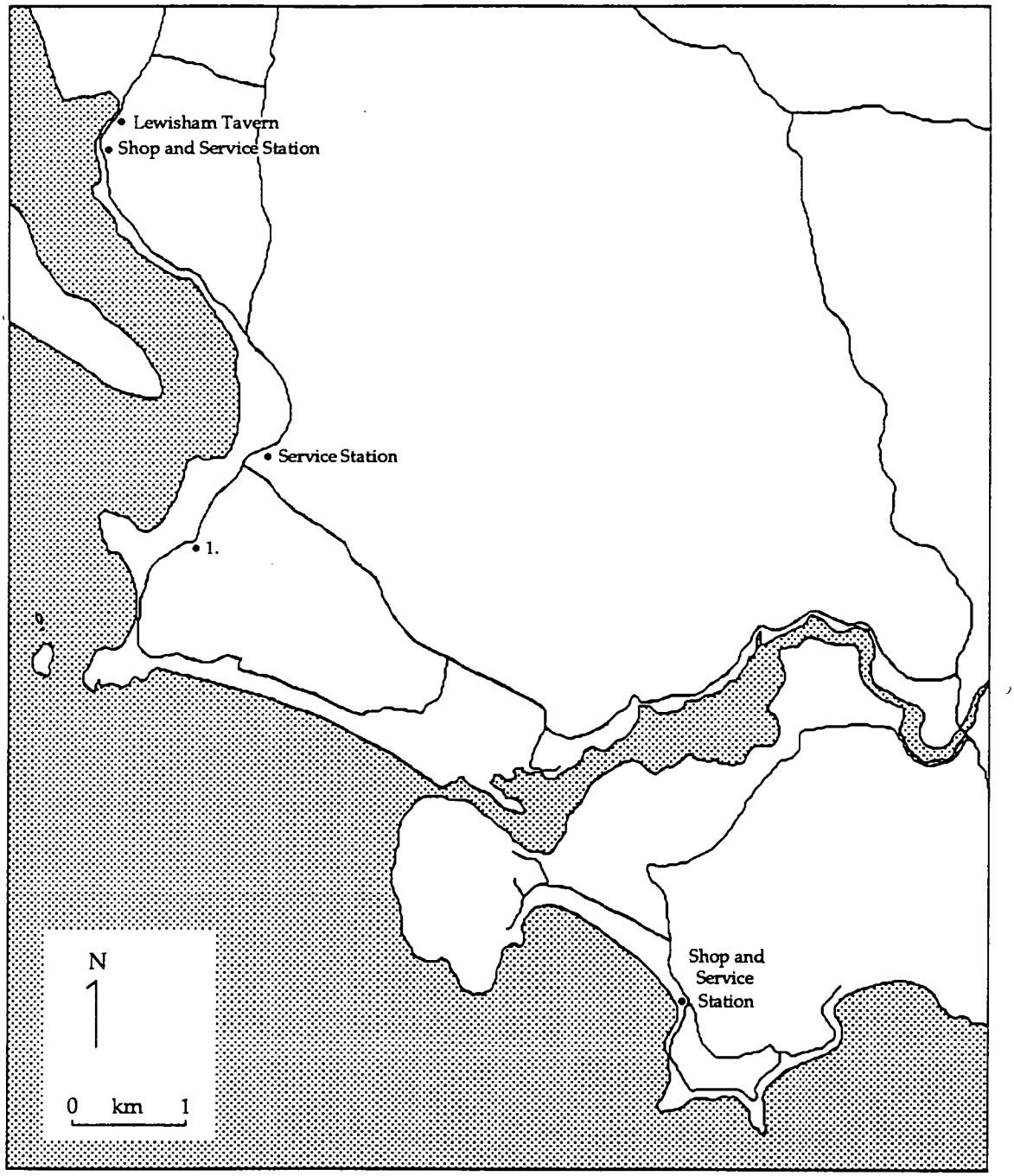
felt to be a recipe for "suburbia". Many households, where possible, were known to be saving to buy vacant neighbouring blocks. Development was seen to "need a sense of moderation" and direction "otherwise it'll be just a suburb in Hobart like Moonah, [which] is not what we came down here for".

This single parent was active in many of the community groups operating in Dodges Ferry. Dodges Ferry was the most active area for community organisations; by the May 1991 edition of "the voice of the Sorell municipality", the Spec News (a non–profit community based paper since 1980), only the Dodges Ferry area was mentioned in the community notice board. Facilities in Dodges Ferry included the Dodges Ferry Recreation Park Hall, the St Johns First Aid Centre and the Salvation Army Hall. A new community hall–cum–school gymnasium was completed in January 1992. Funding for the Community Centre was contributed to by the Sorell Council, local ratepayers and community organisations and the Department of Education and the Arts. Dodges Ferry Primary School takes priority over general public use. Funding contributions and the part–time nature of the Centre regarding general community use caused some controversy. Activities in Dodges Ferry included bingo, child health clinics, CWA meetings, indoor recreation and a childrens play group. In addition to this, a book discussion group, a peace group, a riding club, a progress association and a volunteer fire brigade existed in Dodges Ferry. Due to lack of interest some organisations, such as the Police Boys Club, have lapsed. Existing groups are hindered by lack of support and funds. Community organisations in other areas, reliant upon the free time and donations of local residents, appear to have disappeared as the ability of low income households to contribute to them has declined with the onset of the recession. Dodges Ferry is also the best commercially serviced area within the Eastern Beaches (Figure 7.21 and Plate 5).

*Retirees*

Table 7.12 gives a summary of the interview survey for retirees. A typical household retiring to the Eastern Beaches was either moving into their own or purchasing a holiday home. Travel was not as important a consideration as there was often no pressing need to move outside of the area. An average amount spent by retirees on petrol a week was $5. Household income was often low but so too were housing and

**Figure 7.21 Location of Commercial Services within the Eastern Beaches**




1. Butcher, Video Shop, Fast Food Shop, Surf Shop, Minimarket, Hairdressers, Part Time Doctors' Surgery and Newsagent


**Plate 5 The Commercial Centre of Dodges Ferry (denoted by the numeral 1 in Figure 7.21)**

other costs. The number one reasons given for locating in the Eastern Beaches were lifestyle, environment or family. It is difficult to typify retirees as they fall into two distinct subtypes: first, 'young old' couples; and, secondly, 'old old' couples or single person households. These two subtypes are used as the basis for case study selection. The case studies are presented in the following order: first, a 'young old' couple; and, secondly, an 'old old' single person household.

Case Study 5: Lewisham 7

This household had previously lived in Warrane in a publicly built home which they had finished purchasing by approximately 1960. By 1969 they had saved enough money to purchase a block in the Eastern Beaches for $50 and build a holiday home at a cost of $750. In 1984 they retired to live in their holiday home. Their land and home were recently valued at $70 000 which they considered to be "ridiculously high". The household structure is a retired couple aged between 60 and 70. They especially like the peace and quiet and the view of Mt Wellington. They own one vehicle and spend approximately $5 a week on petrol, travelling to Sorell perhaps once a fortnight. The

## Table 7.12 Interview Survey Summary: Retirees

| Int. | Previous | Labour Force Status | | Employment Location | | Travel - Vehicles and Cost | | F/N TH HH | Household Structure | | Estimated Age | | No. 1 Reason |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Land Use | Respondent | Partner | Respondent | Partner | No. Vehicles | $ Petrol Wk | Income $ | Relationship | Dependants | Household Head(s) | Dependants | Locate |
| L2 | Block | Retired | Retired | - | - | 1 | 5 | <300 | Couple | - | 70-80 | - | Lifestyle |
| 3 | House | Retired | Retired | - | - | 2 | 40 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Lifestyle/Envir |
| 7 | HH | Retired | Retired | - | - | 1 | 5 | <300 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Peace & Quiet |
| 10 | HH | Retired | Retired | - | - | 2 | 10 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 60-70 | 20-30 | Envir |
| DF7 | HH | Retired | Retired | - | - | 2 | 35 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Lifestyle/Envir |
| 9 | House | Retired | Retired | - | - | 2 | 25 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Envir |
| 10 | HH | Retired | Retired | - | - | 1 | 5 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Lifestyle/Envir |
| PB4 | House | Retired | Retired | - | - | - | - | <300 | Couple | - | 70-80 | - | Lifestyle |
| 5 | Block | Retired | - | - | - | - | - | <300 | Single F | - | 70-80 | - | Scenery |
| 7 | HH | Retired | Retired | - | - | 1 | 5 | <300 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Family |
| PS8 | Block | Retired | - | - | - | 1 | 5 | <300 | Single F | - | 60-70 | - | Family |

L - Lewisham
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PS - Primrose Sands

F/N TH HH - Fortnightly Takehome Household
HH - Holiday Home
HD - Home Duties
AH - Affordable Housing

fortnightly takehome income of the household is less than $300 but their cost of living is low with no debts to service and only minimal travel costs. Their largest expenditure a year is the payment of rates. The major service wanted is water for the garden.

Since 1969 many changes were felt to have occurred in the area, none of which were considered to be detrimental. Development was to be applauded, even if they would prefer the area "stay as it is", as "progress makes the world go 'round". If anything, development was not proceeding sufficiently apace to provide for the predominantly permanent residents of the area. Blame for this was levelled at the "dithery dothery old farmers on the [Sorell] Council" whose attitude was "don't rock the boat". Though "we wouldn't live in Hobart if you gave it to us" and they felt that "if you go into the country half those things you haven't got you don't expect", urban development was advocated in order to stimulate prosperity generally and for the sake of the young families who had recently moved into the area. Petty crime was felt to be a problem with shiftless teenagers taking to intermittently occupied holiday homes "like bees to honey". The only foreseeable problem was the lack of aged care support services which may, depending on their state of health, require moving closer to Hobart in the future.

Case Study 6: Park Beach 5

This household exemplifies the stage of declining health anticipated above by Case Study 5. Originally this household had owned a holiday home in the area. Planning to retire in the Eastern Beaches they had purchased a better neighbouring block, sold their holiday home and commenced building a house for permanent residence in 1970. They were initially attracted to the area by its scenery, its quietness (then) and its likelihood of being a nice place to holiday with a family. The household retired as a couple to live in the Eastern Beaches in 1976. The land and house were recently passed in at auction at $50 000. Since 1976 one partner has died leaving the remaining partner, currently aged between 70 and 80, in ailing health. The household is without a vehicle and its sole member, not having fully recovered from a heart attack, can not walk up hills. The walk to the shop, along dirt roads without footpaths, has also become too dangerous, litter strewn and dusty to attempt. In winter, especially between the hours of nine to five during the week, there was felt to be very

few people around to provide either company or help. The householder worried about dying and not being found for days. The bus trip to town, taken once a fortnight, was considered stressful and occupied the entire day. Groceries were delivered to the door but it was often as long as a week between visits to the Post Office to collect mail. Previous illness had necessitated spending five years in a unit in the Lillian Martin Home in Warrane. Once stabilised on a course of medication, but against doctor's advice, the householder had moved back to the Eastern Beaches. An "overworked" district nurse, a Red Cross driver for use in emergencies and a St Johns Ambulance Emergency Unit based in Dodges Ferry are the sum total of aged care support services in the area. Despite the danger, no move back to Hobart was contemplated. Others in a similar position were known to the householder. One neighbour, living on their own, despite multiplesclerosis, requiring a blood transfusion every two and a half weeks and being confined to a wheelchair, continued to resist entreaties to move to Hobart. Living in the Eastern Beaches in their own home may be good for retirees' mental health, but isolation from aged care and emergency support services poses a serious threat to their physical well–being.

Much had changed since first coming to the Eastern Beaches. One hobby had been to "fossick" for flints among the large aboriginal middens which were once to be found along the coast. Steeles Island, now with a home built on it, was reportedly the site of a huge aboriginal midden. Terns once nested in large numbers among the tussocks of Spectacle Head. Feral cats and stray dogs as well as periodic firing and grazing by sheep and goats have resulted in the disappearance of nesting terns. In the householder's memory, spring tides in combination with a long period of heavy rain had flooded water up between and behind the dune system backing Carlton Beach. Vegetation on the dunes had also become more sparse, with less native species and more exotics. The householder felt that the local teenagers and "bad eggs" had the permanent Sorell based policeman's timetable worked out, "everybody knows it", and were free to strip holiday homes untroubled. It was felt that teenagers especially needed something to entertain them as well as a permanent local police presence to dampen the sense of abandon during the summer. The householder felt that there were less retirees in the area than in the past and that there were more young families, many moving into their parents' holiday home. Again, development was viewed with mixed feelings:

> It has to go ahead, though I don't like it. It'll spoil the character of the place and make it just another township. It'll lose its relaxing holiday atmosphere.

If the area had to go ahead, if only in the interests of the young and the old who required services, then it needed a plan in order that it be less "willy nilly".

*Second Home Buyers*

Table 7.13 gives a summary of the interview survey for second home buyers. It is difficult to typify second home buyers as they encompass a wide range of households, from those trading up to those trading down and from young households to older households. With only four second home buyers interviewed it is easier to refer to Table 7.13 for a summary of each household. The case study selected was in accordance with the focus in this study, namely a low income household.

Case Study 7: Primrose Sands 1

> Its not just that I love the sea,
> Or that I enjoy the fishing.
> Its not just the view of the bay,
> Its more,
> The peaceful existence.

So wrote a member of this household in 1987. When interviewed, the household was building its second home in the area for a cost of between $60 000 and $70 000. The structure of this household was a couple aged between 30 and 40 with two dependent children aged between 10 and 20. Family members of the household also lived in the Eastern Beaches. The relaxed lifestyle and the clean environment were the main aspects liked about the area. This household felt that the Eastern Beaches was a good place to raise young children. One unemployed member of the household felt that work within the area was virtually non–existent and that part–time work outside of the area was not worth the trouble and cost of the travelling involved. Looking for work was also hindered by the isolation of the area. The Eastern Beaches has no local CES office. Summer was a time to holiday, if possible, outside of the area so as to avoid

## Table 7.13 Interview Survey Summary: Second Home Buyers

| Int. | Previous | Labour Force Status | | Employment Location | | Travel - Vehicles and Cost | | F/N TH HH | Household Structure | | Estimated Age | | No. 1 Reason |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Land Use | Respondent | Partner | Respondent | Partner | No. Vehicles | $ Petrol Wk | Income $ | Relationship | Dependants | Household Head(s) | Dependants | Locate |
| DF4 | HH | Empl | Empl | Local | Statewide | 2 | 55 | 600-900 | Siblings | - | 50-60 | - | AH |
| C1 | House | Empl | Empl | Hobart | Hobart | 2 | 80 | 600-900 | Couple | 2 | 40-50 | 10-20 | Lifestyle/Envir |
| 3 | Block | Casual | Empl | Richmond | Hobart | 2 | 90 | 900-1200 | Couple | 3 | 30-40 | U10 | Envir |
| PS1 | Block | Unempl | HD | - | - | 2 | 40 | <300 | Couple | 2 | 30-40 | 10-20 | Bring up Kids |

L - Lewisham
DF - Dodges Ferry
PB - Park Beach
C - Carlton
PS - Primrose Sands

F/N TH HH - Fortnightly Takehome Household
HH - Holiday Home
HD - Home Duties
AH - Affordable Housing

"all the commotion"; "summer's like a regatta down here". Crime was considered to have escalated due to a combination of "tempting" intermittently occupied holiday homes and unemployment. An off–licence or, better still, a pub in Primrose Sands would, it was felt, reduce drink driving associated with the ribbon coastal layout of the Eastern Beaches. The lack of services was seen as part of a lifestyle trade–off; "you make your choice, you weigh it up when you move down here". Tank water and the country atmosphere, it was felt, would disappear once access and services were improved. Since improving access to Primrose Sands, culminating in the widening and sealing of Sugarloaf and Primrose Sands roads in 1990/91, more households were felt to have moved into Primrose Sands and the fishing had "dropped right off"; "once the road was sealed many more moved down here". Improvement of the road, however, was welcomed for the saving in wheel alignments. It was felt that a clear purpose was needed for development, with emphasis being placed on community consultation and the maintenance of the character of the area. Households ought not move to the Eastern Beaches under false expectations of urban development being "just around the corner". A consensus based vision for the Eastern Beaches was needed so that guidelines for development could be established and households would be left in no doubt as to what they might expect to occur in the area in the short–to–medium term. It was felt that those wanting urban services should move to those services. If development continued along its current rudderless path, with no concern for the character of the area or for the wishes of its residents, then the household interviewed would consider moving "further down the peninsula".

*Private Renters*

Table 7.14 gives a summary of the interview survey for private renters. With only two private renters interviewed it is not possible to typify them as a household type. The case study selected was for the household whose position impacted upon dependent children.

## Table 7.14 Interview Survey Summary: Private Renters

| Int. No. | Previous Land Use | Labour Force Status | | Employment Location | | Travel - Vehicles and Cost | | F/N TH HH Income $ | Household Structure | | Estimated Age | | No. 1 Reason Locate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Respondent | Partner | Respondent | Partner | No. Vehicles | $ Petrol Wk | | Relationship | Dependants | Household Head(s) | Dependants | |
| DF5 | House | Unempl | Unempl | - | - | 4 | 20 | <300 | Couple | - | 20-30 | - | Envir |
| C2 | House | Unempl | - | - | - | - | - | <300 | Single F | 3 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |

L - Lewisham
DF - Dodges Ferry
PB - Park Beach
C - Carlton
PS - Primrose Sands

F/N TH HH - Fortnightly Takehome Household
HH - Holiday Home
HD - Home Duties
AH - Affordable Housing

Case Study 8: Carlton 2

The structure of this household is a single parent aged between 20 and 30 with three dependent children under the age of 10. The home being rented at the time of interviewing was the third home which had been rented in the area. The parent was unemployed, did not own a vehicle and took home less than $300 a fortnight. The number one reason given for renting in the area initially was affordable housing in combination with, crucially, its location in an environment suitable for the bringing up of children; "you come down here because its cheaper and because its not a ghetto . . . I'll be buggered if I'm going to rent and bring up kids in Bridgewater". It was the household's ambition eventually to buy in the area where one valued pastime was ferretting. Lately, however, rents and the price of land and housing had "skyrocketed" to the point where it was felt that to rent in the Eastern Beaches was to "lose out" due to the purchase of water, the lack of services, the inadequate bus service and the lack of local employment opportunities. There was, however, "no way that I'd move" as the quality of life was felt to be priceless. With "no hope" of finding local employment, the parent was in the process of erecting a perimeter fence so that a child day care service could be started. The recently opened Occasional Care Centre in Dodges Ferry is the only formal child care centre in the Eastern Beaches. In the course of interviewing, however, three illicit commercial child care centres were happened upon. In addition to these facilities neighbourhood networks of unpaid child minding also operated. For a growing area with a predominance of young families, however, the Eastern Beaches is sorely in need of child care facilities to "free women to work . . . these days you've got to have two working just to get the essentials". Open space and the native flora were valued aspects of the Eastern Beaches which were felt to be under immediate threat due to subdivision development and infill consolidation of vacant blocks. The nature of development was seen to be producing a "little Kingston". No block, it was felt, should be smaller than one acre. Small "matchbox" blocks intended to "line the pockets" of developers were considered inimical to the character of the Eastern Beaches; "don't build in like town . . . where can you find a blue–tongued lizard in town?" Again, the household was not antidevelopment; "you know it has to go on, its only natural that it not stay the same, but don't wreck it completely". "Young hoons" were considered a problem, driving dangerously and getting into "no end of mischief". Traffic calming was needed, especially on the sealed "dragstrip". The household faced a 35 minute one way walk to the shop, which took under

5 minutes by car. The bus service was criticised for being Hobart, eight to four and Monday to Friday oriented. The weekend bus service was considered particularly poor. Without a vehicle, this household was one of the few of those interviewed which felt isolated.

*Miscellaneous*

Table 7.15 gives a summary of the interview survey for those households not allocated to any of the above household types. The presentation of a case study from miscellaneous households exemplifies the diversity in household strategies possible within the Eastern Beaches. The miscellaneous household type also includes dubious interviews due to the disposition of the respondent. The case study selected exemplifies a strategy felt to be common by other of the 50 interviewees, namely the short term use of parents' holiday homes as a waiting/saving stage before purchasing a home elsewhere. Other undefined household situations included complicated partnership arrangements, house minding and moving to the Eastern Beaches to provide domiciliary care for a local family member. An undefined household situation not interviewed but observed to be quite common in the Eastern Beaches was a household living in a caravan on a block of land. Unfortunately, the 1986 Census treats such households as private dwellings (The 1986 Census Dictionary Catalogue No. 2174.0).

Case Study 9: Carlton 5

This household had previously been renting in Kingston. The household structure was a couple aged between 20 and 30 with a baby. Both were employed and had decided to save money for a deposit on a house. Rent being a waste of money, they moved into one of the couple's parents' holiday home in January 1991. They paid no rent, which had been $130 a week in Kingston, but were spending an estimated $60 a week on petrol, $20 more than they had been spending in Kingston. They aspired to purchase a home in Howrah but had not started looking in earnest. A cursory search had revealed only houses as yet out of their price range but they were confident that a reasonably priced home in Howrah would "turn up". They were in the fortunate

## Table 7.15 Interview Survey Summary: Miscellaneous

| Int. | Previous | Labour Force Status | | Employment Location | | Travel - Vehicles and Cost | | F/N TH HH | Household Structure | | Estimated Age | | No. 1 Reason |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Land Use | Respondent | Partner | Respondent | Partner | No. Vehicles | $ Petrol Wk | Income $ | Relationship | Dependants | Household Head(s) | Dependants | Locate |
| L5 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 3 | 65 | 900-1200 | Couple | 1 | 30-40 | U10 | Family/Envir |
| DF8 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 90 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 30-40 | - | Lifestyle/Envir |
| PB3 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 70 | 300-600 | Couple | 3 | 30-40 | U10 | AH |
| C5 | HH | Empl | Empl | Brighton | Hobart | 2 | 60 | 600-900 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | Baby | AH |
| 7 | HH | Retired | - | - | - | - | - | <300 | Single F | - | 50-60 | - | Family |
| 8 | HH | Pension | Empl | - | Hobart | 1 | 40 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 20-30 | - | Family/Lifestyle |
| 10 | HH | Empl | Empl | Hobart | Hobart | 2 | 60 | 600-900 | Couple | - | 50-60 | - | Envir |

L - Lewisham
DF - Dodges Ferry
PB - Park Beach
C - Carlton
PS - Primrose Sands

F/N TH HH - Fortnightly Takehome Household
HH - Holiday Home
HD - Home Duties
AH - Affordable Housing

position of being able to bide their time. The holiday home, however, was less than ideal, being somewhat cramped. Like many holiday homes, it had been built without due consideration for the needs of winter living, for example many holiday homes lack adequate insulation. Thus, the holiday home was difficult and costly to heat. (One interviewee in Park Beach was a member of the Dodges Ferry Volunteer Fire Brigade. Many of the house fires which occurred in the Eastern Beaches were, it was felt, due to winter heating appliances being installed in holiday homes which had been built primarily for summertime use. Wood heaters were singled out as the major cause of house fires due to do–it–yourself installation and inadequate insulation.) Living in the Eastern Beaches only over the winter of 1991, the household had appreciated the area's quietness but had not had cause to do anything more than occasionally walk along the beach. The household had two vehicles and felt that the drive to Hobart was fast but, especially within the Eastern Beaches, dangerous. They missed not being "on the phone" and at times felt isolated. They felt that "it would be a shame" if the area was developed along the same lines as Kingston where they felt they "had to dress up to go to the beach". Density restrictions were needed to maintain the open nature of the area. They queried the allowing of building on top of the dune system backing Carlton Beach. Apparently, 30 years ago, when one of the couple's parents' had built the holiday home, this had not been allowed. Policy reversal had made possible the subdividing of the backyards of holiday homes built behind the dunes, which ran up to the top of the dune system (Plate 6). As well as being an "eyesore", they felt that households locating in such windy and sandy spots were "crazy".

### 7.2.4 Issues Discussion

In this subsection broader issues relevant to the Eastern Beaches are discussed with reference to both the opinions of interviewees and the perspectives of strategically placed 'overviewers' of the Eastern Beaches. The structure in this subsection is to discuss issues relating to each 'overviewers' area of professional expertise and give the perspectives of both interviewees and 'overviewers' to these issues within the context of the perspective in this study.

**Plate 6 Subdivided Backyard Dune Top of a Holiday Home**

The Sorell Council is the sphere of government closest to many of the management issues in the Eastern Beaches. In 1977 the Eastern Beaches was described in a study of holiday homes in Tasmania by Thorne (1977 p58) as "the largest resort in the State, a virtual conurbation around Dodges Ferry and Park Beach, consisting of over 1000 households". As early as 1978 the transition from a holiday home area to a commuter residential centre had been identified and documented by Dobson and Williams (1978 pp40–47). In 1981 Martins Real Estate had this to say about the urban development of Clarence and the semiurban development of the Eastern Beaches:

> The emergence over the past few years of the Clarence Municipality as a rapidly growing commercial and industrial area, has coincided with rapid growth in population and the resulting expansion outwards of the established residential area. This is reflected in the fact that Clarence's population has now climbed to approximately 45 000. Projections are that by the year 2000, Clarence will have more residents than Hobart.
>
> As a result of Clarence's expansion, its neighbouring municipalities of Brighton and Sorell are also experiencing an ever increasing popularity as home seekers are desiring a free and easy way of life in the beach side areas of Seven Mile Beach,

Lewisham, Dodges Ferry, Primrose Sands, South Arm, and of course, Old Beach.

> These areas, all popular seaside recreation areas are now being transformed into fine residential areas with the numbers of permanent residents now rapidly approaching the number of weekenders and holiday cottages. The continuation of the eastern outlet has put the areas of Lewisham, Dodges Ferry, Primrose Sands, Seven Mile Beach, Carlton, and Park Beach within easy commuting distance of the city while still providing the luxury of beachside living as a viable alternative to the pressures and 'closed-in-feeling' of the inner-city suburban areas ("The Mercury" 24/3/81 Town and Country Real Estate Section).

By 1985 problems regarding residential development in the Eastern Beaches were being publicised. Problems included roads, drainage, street lighting, parking and toilet facilities near the beaches and the need for playgrounds and picnic areas ("The Mercury" 20/6/85 p28b). As late as 1989, however, the Sorell Council was without any form of forward planning regarding the Eastern Beaches; "the worst situations are being coped with as they arise" ("The Spec News" No. 63 March 1989). The Sorell Council is just beginning to consider some of the issues in the Eastern Beaches, having only recently employed a planner who is working in his "spare time" on a development plan for the area, previous commissioned Town Planning Schemes being little more than land use maps. The major issues in the Eastern Beaches for the Sorell Council were seen as being roads, water, sewage, drainage and the nature of future development. Discussion of these issues was held with the Council Planner, Clerk and Engineer whose views and ideas at this stage were only tentative. Of immediate concern for the Sorell Council was its position regarding "hard" urban infrastructure, namely roads, water, sewage and drainage. The Sorell Council has neither the funds nor the option to pursue "full blown" urban development in the Eastern Beaches as connecting with Hobart's reticulated water system is not possible. Thus, the Sorell Council is investigating "soft" engineering options such as secondary treatment lagoon systems connected to existing septic tanks (Plate 7).

This option is being trialled in connection with a new housing subdivision in Lewisham. The developer is paying for the construction and reticulation of a biological secondary treatment lagoon system in return for a reduction in the minimum lot size from 1500 $m^2$ to 750 $m^2$. Similarly, supplementing existing tank water, which many households prefer for human consumption, by tapping the ground

**Plate 7 Newly Constructed Biological Secondary Treatment Lagoon**

water table to provide water suitable for washing and gardening is another option being explored by the Sorell Council which is not overly disruptive or expensive (also meeting emergency fire service requirements). Drainage in some areas will need to be addressed but other areas will be left as they are. Despite this "softly softly" approach, increases in rates will be unavoidable. Developers are currently required to contribute to physical infrastructure provision, usually to the stage of sealing roads internal to subdivisions, and some form of user pays is expected to be levied from residents to contribute to systematic infrastructure provision in the future.

The Sorell Council has previously attempted to recoup expenditure on urban infrastructure. In 1975 the Sorell Council borrowed $1.5 million from the State Government to assist the finance of urban infrastructure provision under the Midway Point Improvement Scheme. Quarterly payments over 25 years were intended to be levied from households to the total of $1656. Rates would also rise due to increased servicing costs. Upon commencing work, however, unanticipated resident protest against the scheme arose. The Sorell Council was charged with being undemocratic, its preliminary questionnaire receiving a response of only 22 per cent of the

households of Midway Point, and many residents refused to pay the contribution, especially once costs had escalated to a $3.5 million loan at $4000 per household. New polls were conducted with an approximate split of 50/50 for and against user pays infrastructure. Many low income households claimed that they could not afford to pay the contribution. Contention arose concerning the method used by the Sorell Council to define an allotment and thus levy a contribution. In 1979 the State Town and Country Planning Commission held an inquiry into the Midway Point Improvement Scheme and found for many of the residents' claims. A Sorell Councillor and Midway Point resident became a test case regarding refusal to pay the contribution, and in 1982 the Supreme Court found against the Sorell Council. The Sorell Council then persuaded the State Government to pass a Doubts Removal Bill relating to the Council's legal right to levy for work already undertaken. Following the passing of this bill, most residents paid the contribution but others refuse to do so to this day ("The Mercury" 23/5/85 p32). Currently the Sorell Council owes approximately $800 000 on the Midway Point Improvement Scheme. This attempt by the Sorell Council to "ram services down the throats" of residents has been noted by residents of the Eastern Beaches as well as by the Council. Both are anxious to avoid a repetition of the situation at Midway Point where community–council relations were somewhat frayed. At this stage, however, the ground work required to forestall this eventuality, both in terms of human and environmental research regarding the Eastern Beaches and in developing mechanisms for inter–government and community co–operation, has not progressed beyond good intentions.

Another warning that the Sorell Council needs to begin planning development in the Eastern Beaches is evident in the past and present plight of other outer urban and semiurban councils. For example, in 1991 the Huon Council was the target of organised community opposition against rate increases forced upon the council by recent revaluations of land and housing by the Valuations Division of the Department of Environment and Planning. Inflated land and housing prices were the result of largely unplanned semiurban development which also put increasing pressure upon council services and resources. The Huon Council was caught napping, approving development which they could not effectively service and which impaired their ability to maintain existing services. At the same time, semiurban development contributed to inflating the price of land and housing in the area which, via revaluations, resulted in unexpected rate increases which the local community felt to be unwarranted. The

same scenario had previously resulted in the sacking of the Kingborough and Clarence Councils. With revaluation due in the Sorell Municipality, one of the unexpected implications of unplanned and still unresearched semiurban development in the Eastern Beaches (namely rate increases in an area which is attractive to many households due to its low rates and whose residents overwhelmingly feel not to be receiving value–for–money for rates) may be about to arise in the form of resident opposition to rate increases. Planning for the future may be about to be overtaken by the mismanagement of the past, with the scapegoats being the officers of the present.

The one permanent policeman for the Eastern Beaches, stationed in Sorell, was of the opinion that the incidence of crime and misdemeanors in the Eastern Beaches was unexceptional. No figures were available, but it was felt that there had been an overall increase in crime during 1990/91 due to the recession. In short, there were more problems in summer in the form of misdemeanors but more crime in winter with holiday homes being "knocked off". It was felt that these developments were due to the combination of low income households, teenagers, "blow in surfies" and unemployment in an isolated and underpoliced area. Neighbourhood watch was now working well in some areas. Many residents felt that, while the police did a good job considering the resources available to them and the area to be covered, more police, preferably stationed in the area, were needed:

> There is a low police profile in the area. We are feeling the effects, not only from noisy jet skis, but from such things as vehicles on the beach, reported house breakings and speeding cars (Mr Peter Simmonds in "The Spec News" No. 63 March 1989).

Local real estate agents considered young first home buyers, retirees and 'mainlanders' to be the main groups purchasing in the Eastern Beaches. Building approvals in the Sorell LGA have been running at approximately $1 million a month since 1989. Real estate sales had increased markedly in the last six years:

> Six years ago property sales were very dormant, but suddenly it has moved. In the past four years we have sold some places four times . . . in six or seven years time, we will be a fully developed brick residential area (Mr Skeet McCarthy in "The Spec News" No. 63 March 1989).

Interest in land and housing in the Eastern Beaches was high as "young people are coming this way for housing because Hobart virtually has priced itself out of the young, first home market" (Mr Geoff McGuinness in "The Spec News" No. 63 March 1989). Many households, however, were using the area purely as a stepping stone. Local real estate agents were of the opinion that unemployed households were declining in the area. Low income households, however, at the lower end of the private home purchasing market, many with TDA loans, were increasing. One long time resident interviewed commented that unemployed households had always lived in the area. To this resident's knowledge, 20 years ago the police would escort unemployed "drifters" to the border of the municipality if they "caused any trouble". The interviewee felt, too, that there were no longer as many unemployed households in the area because they had been "priced out"; "its not as bad as it used to be". Another interviewee, the ex-proprietor of the Dodges Ferry Store, recounted how revenue came to be relatively evenly spread over the year as the area developed. Many new residents were felt to be young low income families. One real estate agent felt that the value of low income housing in the Eastern Beaches had doubled in the last six years. Households which had bought in the area early in this six year period, or before it, got "a real bargain". Together with TDA deferred interest and flexible repayments, this helps to account for the low fortnightly takehome income of many of the households interviewed. Despite casual or unemployment it was still possible for households to meet loan repayments if they had purchased their home prior to recent land and housing price increases (approximately 66 per cent of households interviewed purchased before 1985). Real bargains in the Eastern Beaches were now difficult to find. The heterogeneity of the area was emphasised with both high and low income households locating in the area (Lewisham was referred to, tongue in cheek, as the "Golden Mile"). The majority of households locating in the area, however, were felt to be low income households, especially in Primrose Sands.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, officers of the Social Work Section of the Department of Social Security felt that increasingly many of their clients were based in semiurban areas. Despite it being impossible to make any more than tentative observations based upon DSS data, DSS officers also felt that the Eastern Beaches was not a "bolt hole" for the unemployed (figures for unemployment benefit/new start allowance and job search allowance being low for the Forcett post code area even when taking into account the under-estimated nature of the figures). Instead, the Eastern beaches had a

considerable over–representation of low income young family households as evidenced by the high number of family allowance recipients in the Eastern Beaches in comparison with the Sorell LGA and Tasmania. Thus, the Eastern Beaches appeared to be, not a private rental "bolt hole" for the unemployed, but an area for home purchase by low income young family households.

A local council member for the Eastern Beaches frankly admitted many problems existed. These problems, however, were disappearing as development proceeded and, consequently, residential consolidation needed to be encouraged. It was felt that development of a sewage system would begin in the next five years and a system of reticulated water provision within the next eight to ten years. The current balance between those in favour of services and those against them was felt to be tipping in favour of pro–development as more households moved into the area. Self–help initiatives in Dodges Ferry were felt to be a sign of a healthy developing community. Teenagers were seen as a problem which needed addressing. Vandalism and theft were particularly distressing and there was felt to be a danger of the locals "taking matters into their own hands" as "everyone knows who does it" but that the police had little chance of catching the offenders. The bus service was admitted to be inadequate but it was privately run and thus economically constrained to a profitable timetable. A better service would need to be publicly run. There was considered to be a major difficulty in obtaining funding to tackle problems in the Eastern Beaches. The Sorell Council is some $3.5 million in debt and rates can not easily be increased, the $20 contribution levied for the Community Centre in Dodges Ferry being objected to as undemocratic by some and "not ours to pay" by others. The three councillors for the Eastern Beaches are outnumbered on the Sorell Council and it was felt that the Eastern Beaches approximately 33 per cent proportion of the Sorell LGA's population was not receiving an equivalent share of the rate base. Rates, however, were lower than in other areas. The isolation of Primrose Sands from the rest of the Eastern Beaches was also felt to be a problem. Duplication of services was going to be necessary as Primrose Sands, both physically and psychologically, constituted a separate community. It was felt that a bridge across the Carlton River from Carlton Bluff to the eastern end of Carlton Beach would obviate this eventuality. In short, the solution to current problems, the extent of many of which has yet to be investigated, was felt to be to press on with development into a larger future unknown.

The Dodges Ferry Primary School, recently completed to full resource stage, expects an enrolment of 270 pupils in 1992 (Plate 8). The projected figure for 1992, calculated upon the school's inception in 1987, was 180 pupils. Some indication of the socio–economic background of enrolling pupils is provided by the fact that approximately 75 per cent meet the means tested qualification for the free list; that is they are exempted from paying for school textbooks etc. A research officer for the Department of Education and the Arts stated that "we simply react" to information obtained from the Sorell Council and no research is conducted into the nature of the area where the school is to be sited. If demonstrable need exists and funds are available then a school is built at a cost of, in the case of the Dodges Ferry Primary School, approximately $4 million, the most expensive primary school ever constructed in Tasmania. Considering the parlous state of the Sorell Council's information base this is somewhat of a case of the blind leading the blind. Broader issues regarding the development of the Eastern Beaches, at the same time as infrastructure in areas such as Warrane and Mornington is under–utilised, are not considered (both the Warrane High School and the Mornington Primary School were recently closed).

**Plate 8 Dodges Ferry Primary School and Community Centre**

The Housing and Family Services Division of the Department of Community Services has yet to identify the Eastern Beaches in its Small Towns Survey as an area attracting potential low income public housing tenants. A planner for the division, however, had a "gut feeling" that some sort of policy for the Eastern Beaches, involving a number of spheres of government, was required. The use of TDA loans by those failing to qualify for public housing or by low priority households on the public housing waiting list was attested to; "one rung above public housing tenants". The Eastern Beaches was compared with other semiurban areas such as Green Ponds and Bagdad where cheap land, housing and rates were the principal attractions for "semi–impoverished" low income households trying to "get their name on a title". Investigating the link between public housing policy and semiurban development was not anticipated for at least 12 months, if it was to be investigated at all.

Research is currently being conducted by Diane Driscoll for Sorell Childcare Forward Planning into the childcare needs of semiurban areas. The Eastern Beaches has been no more than identified as an area requiring services due to the unavailability of basic and accurate up–to–date information. An interview survey conducted by Penny (1991) identified difficulties confronting sole parents, particularly women, in Primrose Sands. The basic information source used for both of these pieces of work was information collected by the author for this study.

The Sorell Council and the Aged and Community Care and Health Care Division of the Department of Community Services are currently liaising regarding a joint study into the health care requirements of the Eastern Beaches. At this stage, however, the Division appears unlikely to contribute to such a study due to funding cuts. There is also a sense of wanting to remain blissfully ignorant at a time when simply maintaining existing services is difficult.

In short, the major short term policy direction which appears to be emerging regarding the Eastern Beaches is to promote its residential consolidation. Development has never been managed in the Eastern Beaches and the Sorell Council's position appears to be tending towards promoting the consolidation of currently developed areas. For example, of Primrose Sand's total number of subdivided blocks of 1326 in October 1990, only 667 had permanently or intermittently occupied homes built on them.

Sorell is Tasmania's second largest municipality by area but it has the lowest number of ratepayers. Residential consolidation will, it was felt, help achieve economies of scale to assist the funding of infrastructure which currently, due to the low density layout of the Eastern Beaches, would be difficult to fund and be significantly under–utilised. Thus, the limiting of development to the coastal side of, for example, Carlton Road is proposed. Already, however, subdivision is underway in the hills behind Lewisham, Dodges Ferry and Carlton (Plate 9).


**Plate 9 Subdividing and Selling Land in the Hills Behind Lewisham Road**

A number of points needs to be made regarding the residential consolidation of the Eastern Beaches. First, the residents of the Eastern Beaches, including holiday home owners, have not been consulted regarding the residential consolidation of the area. Residential development is currently incremental and piecemeal and its management is to be encouraged. The end towards which management is directed, however, needs to be developed in consultation with users of the area as well as with other spheres of government. Policy formulation should not involve simply condoning and circumscribing existing development. The residential development of the Eastern Beaches is not a *fait accompli* and its undemocratic assumption as such ignores the

wishes of many permanent and intermittent residents, as well as the implications of development for other spheres of government, in favour of vested development interests.

Secondly, an attitude that "the horse has bolted" is being taken and that the only option is to speed it on its way. The holiday home and country character of the area is to be sacrificed in favour of residential consolidation, promoted to meet economies of scale which will make possible the efficient servicing of the Eastern Beaches. Economic inefficiency involving the servicing of approximately 3000 people is to be replaced by the more economically efficient servicing of approximately 6000 people within the same areal extent. A small community will have to wait to become a large one before many facilities are deemed to be economically feasible. Apart from being self–fulfilling, this recipe for inaction in the short term does not question the appropriateness of further development in relation to the socio–economic make up of the area, its current character, conflicts in the use of the area, the position of the Eastern Beaches regarding employment and services and the effect of residential consolidation upon the natural environment. First, the Sorell Council needs to develop an understanding of the needs and issues in the Eastern Beaches. It is difficult to take stock while taking stock on. The possibility that vacant blocks might not be built on needs to be explored and the Sorell Council should investigate options other than the full scale residential development of the Eastern Beaches. Tackling the current needs of the community should be the Sorell Council's priority rather than postponing decisions until some vague future economic threshold (which grows ever larger with time) is reached regarding as yet unspecified public works and services. Rarely is the cause of a problem also its solution. The Sorell Council is not expected to research, plan and pay for even physical service provision on its own. (Conservatively, if each of the Eastern Beaches approximately 3000 blocks was to be provided with physical and social infrastructure at a cost of $25 000 per block, then the total cost for the Eastern Beaches would be some $75 million.) It does, however, have a responsibility to initiate and help co–ordinate these aspects of infrastructure provision and maintenance in the Eastern Beaches.

Thirdly, consolidated development may render "soft" engineering options inappropriate. The effect of consolidation upon drainage, the build–up of seepage from septic tanks, the water table, the state of the roads and so on needs to be

considered. Economic thresholds may be achieved at the expense of environmental thresholds which result in making unsuitable the purpose for achieving economic thresholds in the first place. There is a danger that in trying to fix a small problem a larger one will instead be created which will need to be tackled in different ways; the Sorell Council may end up running to stand still. Moreover, the effect of intended measures upon existing conditions is unknown. Of particular importance is the 'snowballing' of required services. For example, it is not possible to address water and sewage without also considering drainage and roads. Short–cuts need to be carefully thought–out and planned.

Fourthly, decisions regarding development made by the Sorell Council influence other spheres of government. There is already a lag in the provision of social services in the Eastern Beaches and further development will result in additional pressure to provide education, welfare, police and health services. These spheres of government need to be consulted regarding development in the Eastern Beaches. Inter–government liaison and co–operation is vital. It is irresponsible to sanction development if the ability to provide a full range of physical and social services is not known to exist.

Fifthly, development will be difficult to confine to existing subdivided blocks. Land owners, developers, surveyors and real estate agents in the area depend upon continuing subdivision and will lobby to develop outside of the developed area, as well as in undeveloped areas within it (much of the current development in the Eastern Beaches is new subdivision based). A surveyor–cum–developer operating in the area felt that, especially in times of recession, the minimising of costs and maximising of returns possible in the Eastern Beaches lent the area considerable potential for development. In short, developer contributions and the price of rural land were low, while returns on subdivided land were relatively high in the Eastern Beaches. These factors added up to an attractive profit margin for developers. Rural land in south east Tasmania cost approximately $5000 per hectare in 1991. Depending on the nature of the land, a developer could usually subdivide a hectare into twelve 600m$^2$ blocks at a cost of approximately $5000 per block. Thus, a subdivided hectare cost a developer approximately $60 000 in 1991. Blocks were sold for between $15 000 and $20 000 each, netting the developer between $180 000 and $240 000 per hectare. This leaves the developer with a surplus of between $120 000 and $180 000 per hectare. In order for this profitable scenario to continue new areas need to be released for

subdivision. Thus, residential consolidation will continually be subject to the danger of being undermined by development interests which are oriented towards increasing the size of the developed area, not giving a high priority to residential consolidation.

Finally, residential consolidation of the Eastern Beaches will destroy the character of the area for many households. These households will 'vote with their feet' and move to other areas where lack of urban services and surroundings can be appreciated. Thus, semiurban development will be shifted further out from Hobart, probably to an area also within the Sorell LGA hence not even 'passing the buck'. For example, it is a shorter distance by road from Hobart to Connellys Marsh than to Primrose Sands, a fact not lost upon low income households, and hearsay evidence suggests that Connellys Marsh has a growing permanent residential population. Promoting the residential consolidation of the Eastern Beaches will simply lead to the production of a more isolated and less serviceable semiurban area elsewhere.

## 7.3 ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS AND ISSUES IN THE EASTERN BEACHES

In this section there are two aims: first, to summarise researched and documented environmental impacts in the Eastern Beaches; and, secondly, to present perceived environmental impacts and issues in the Eastern Beaches. Sources for the first aim are Dobson and Williams (1978) and Millington (1983). Sources for the second aim are the households and 'overviewers' interviewed. Where possible, photographic examples of environmental impacts are given. No attempt was made in this study scientifically to assess environmental impacts in the Eastern Beaches due to a lack of both time and expertise. In this section the focus is upon previously researched environmental impacts and perceived environmental impacts and issues identified by those interviewed, both of which are illustrated with current photographic examples. Discussion of natural environmental impacts and issues is given in Chapter 8.

### 7.3.1 Previously Researched and Documented Environmental Impacts in the Eastern Beaches

Dobson and Williams (1978 pp79–80) conclude that coastal erosion is occurring naturally in the Eastern Beaches (their study did not include Primrose Sands) but at a relatively slow rate. The natural rate of erosion, however, was being accentuated to a concerning degree by human activity. This activity was primarily due to the development of holiday homes in the area. Human impacts were considered to be increasing due to the development of the Eastern Beaches as an area of permanent residence.

Previous to habitation by anglo–saxons, use was made of the Eastern Beaches by aboriginal people. Despite the destruction of many aboriginal middens, some degraded examples remain to testify to the earlier presence of aboriginal people (for example, Plate 10 shows a midden on Spectacle Head which has been used as a turning circle for private motor vehicles).

**Plate 10 Degraded Midden on Spectacle Head in the Eastern Beaches**

Anglo–saxon activity is recorded in the Eastern Beaches as early as 1819. The area had been extensively cleared for farming by 1948. Of immediate relevance, however, is the development of the Eastern Beaches as a holiday home area following World War II. Such development was not limited to the Eastern Beaches:

> In Tasmania largely unregulated shack development in the far north–west, north–east and east coasts has marred the landscape and has limited public access to the sea (Hope *et al.* 1974 in Millington 1983 p127).

Holiday home development established the framework for semiurban development currently underway in the Eastern Beaches. Many holiday homes were 'jerry built' with little consideration, other than wanting to holiday there, for the natural environment:

> The building regulations applicable in the Sorell Municipality are the same throughout the area. Yet the houses along the main street of Sorell are of far superior quality and comply in detail with the building regulations whilst in the shack areas of, say, [the Eastern Beaches], a totally different standard seems to apply. Here there is a variety of buildings varying from residential sheds and fibro slums to a few buildings of reasonable quality and design. This situation has arisen because, in the words of one council official, the shacks were seen as being built "out in the bush . . . and it didn't seem to matter very much" (Millington 1983 p128).

With the growth in the permanent population of the area, as well as in its intermittent use, and changes in the way in which many people view and value the natural environment, the nature of development in the Eastern Beaches has come to matter very much. Specific human environmental impacts identified by Dobson and Williams in 1978 (pp79–80) to be accentuating the natural rate of coastal erosion included:

- trampling of coastal banks and dunes, initially by sheep and cattle but currently by people. This had resulted in vegetation loss, wind erosion and material being pushed down on to the beach to be removed by wave action (for example, Plate 11 shows the trampling of a coastal bank and the pushing of material down onto the back beach area covering an unused stormwater outlet);

**Plate 11 Beach Access Down the Bank at Okines Beach**

- access tracks through the bank and backshore allowing material blown off the beach and bank, due to trampling and loss of vegetation, to be lost inland (Plate 12); and
- a rise in the level of the water table throughout the backshore area due to the clearing of vegetation thus increasing the rate of groundwater flow, keeping the sand flat in a damp state and weakening the bank leading to slumping and the removal of material by high tides at Okines Beach (Plate 13 and Plate 14).

Dobson and Williams (1978 p80) list a number of factors which will increase coastal erosion problems in the Eastern Beaches as the area develops further. These include:

- increased run–off from more houses connected to a more extensive drainage and road system (the Sorell Council admits drainage to be a current problem in Lewisham);
- additional rises in the water table which will affect vegetation and increase coastal bank erosion; and
- groundwater contamination from septic tanks.

**Plate 12 Beach Access Across the Dune System at Carlton Beach**

**Plate 13 Coastal Bank Erosion in the Middle Section of Okines Beach**

**Plate 14 Coastal Bank Erosion in the Middle Section of Okines Beach**

Dobson and Williams rule out *ad hoc* management (such as current isolated revetments), land use controls or extensive shore protection works as viable management options. Instead, elements of these approaches need to be incorporated in an environmental management plan for the Eastern Beaches. The Sorell Council can not be expected to be solely responsible for the funding of an environmental management plan but it does have a responsibility to play an initiating role as well as to co–ordinate the funding and resources of a number of government departments, such as the Department of Parks, Wildlife and Heritage, regarding contributions to research, planning and implementation of environmental management. Moreover, environmental management should work with natural processes in a comprehensive way and in the long term. A long term remedial measure recommended for bank erosion by Dobson and Williams is beach replenishment and backshore maintenance.

Action considered to be immediately required by Dobson and Williams (1978 pp138–139) included:

- stabilising eroding banks, especially at Okines Beach, by reshaping to the established vegetation and protecting the toe of the bank by a formed

beach;

- repair of blow–outs caused by access tracks;
- creation of steps and walkways down bank accesses;
- halting vehicular access to the crown reserve and encouraging natural vegetation by removing rubbish, preventing mowing, burning off and grazing;
- cleaning up streams and drains to improve water quality (Plate 15); and
- promote more sensitive building design and location.

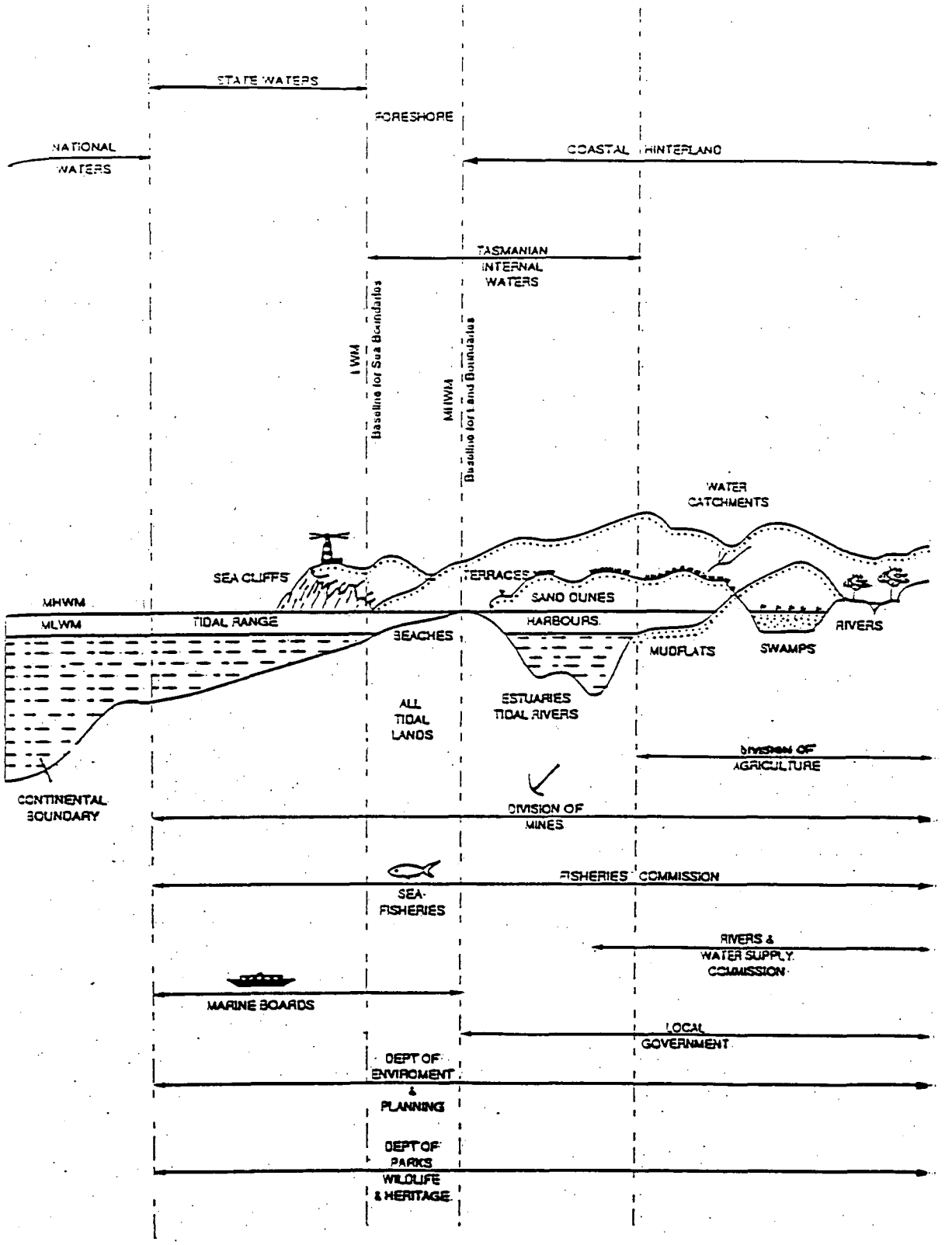
To what extent have these measures been undertaken approximately forteen years since their recommendation? First, responsibility for coastal management in Tasmania is a complex of tenure forms, government agencies and the private property rights of individuals (Figure 7.22). In short, there exists no single authority which is responsible for coastal management, responsibility instead being split between a number of individual agencies in a complex and unco–ordinated way. Confusion over who is responsible for the management of what abounds and it is relatively easy to pass responsibility from agency to agency. Consequently, the detailing of work to be done is, to some extent, academic as without clarifying roles and responsibilities across government agencies regarding environmental management, action will continue to be piecemeal, inadequate or avoided. This confusion extends to the responsibility of the Sorell Council and individual households regarding the maintenance of roads, the clearing of land and so on. For example, a number of households interviewed purchased, carted and laid their own gravel on the vehicular accesses to their home (Plate 16 shows a typical narrow access road to homes in the Eastern Beaches with no drainage or grading in evidence).

Since the recommendations of Dobson and Williams in 1978 the Sorell Council has constructed some isolated revetments along Okines Beach, primarily to protect ratepayers' property. For example, Plate 17 shows a section of Okines Beach upon which extensive shore protection works have been undertaken (background) and a section in which work has not been undertaken (foreground). Plate 18 shows protection works in the form of bank stabilisation and groyne construction intended to address the immediate threat being posed to homes behind the eroding dune system. In contrast, Plate 19 shows the lack of protection and consequent bank erosion underway in a section of Okines Beach not immediately backed by holiday or

Plate 15 Stream Flowing into Okines Beach

Plate 16 A Typical Back-Road in the Eastern Beaches

Figure 7.22 Agency Involvement in Coastal Management, Tasmania




Source: Report of the House of Representatives Standing Committee on the Environment, Recreation and the Arts (1991)

Plate 17 Coastal Erosion and Protection at Okines Beach

Plate 18 Coastal Bank Protection at the Northern End of Okines Beach

**Plate 19 Coastal Bank Erosion in the Middle Section of Okines Beach**

permanent homes. With limited funding, immediate threat to ratepayers' property, which should not have been built there in the first place (pointing to the need for the interrelated management of the environment and development in the Eastern Beaches), is the Sorell Council's main priority, attracting substantial but isolated attention (Plate 20 and Plate 21). Some methods used by the Sorell Council to address bank erosion are questionable. For example, Plate 22 shows the cutting down of *Eucalyptus ovata*, which were being undermined by bank erosion, to be used for bank protection. This further destabilises the bank, is visually unappealing and provides only a temporary means of protection, the dead and dismembered *Eucalyptus ovata* eventually being washed away.

Considerable difficulties are posed by private property ownership in the management of the coastal environment in the Eastern Beaches. Plate 23 shows Primrose Beach looking south–east along the coastal reserve which is crown land. This area is relatively well managed with fenced walkways to the beach protecting the structure of the dune system as well as vegetation (Plate 24). No homes are built on the dune system or, indeed, for some 50 meters behind it (Plate 25). Approximately half way

Plate 20 Shore Protection Works in Jones Bay

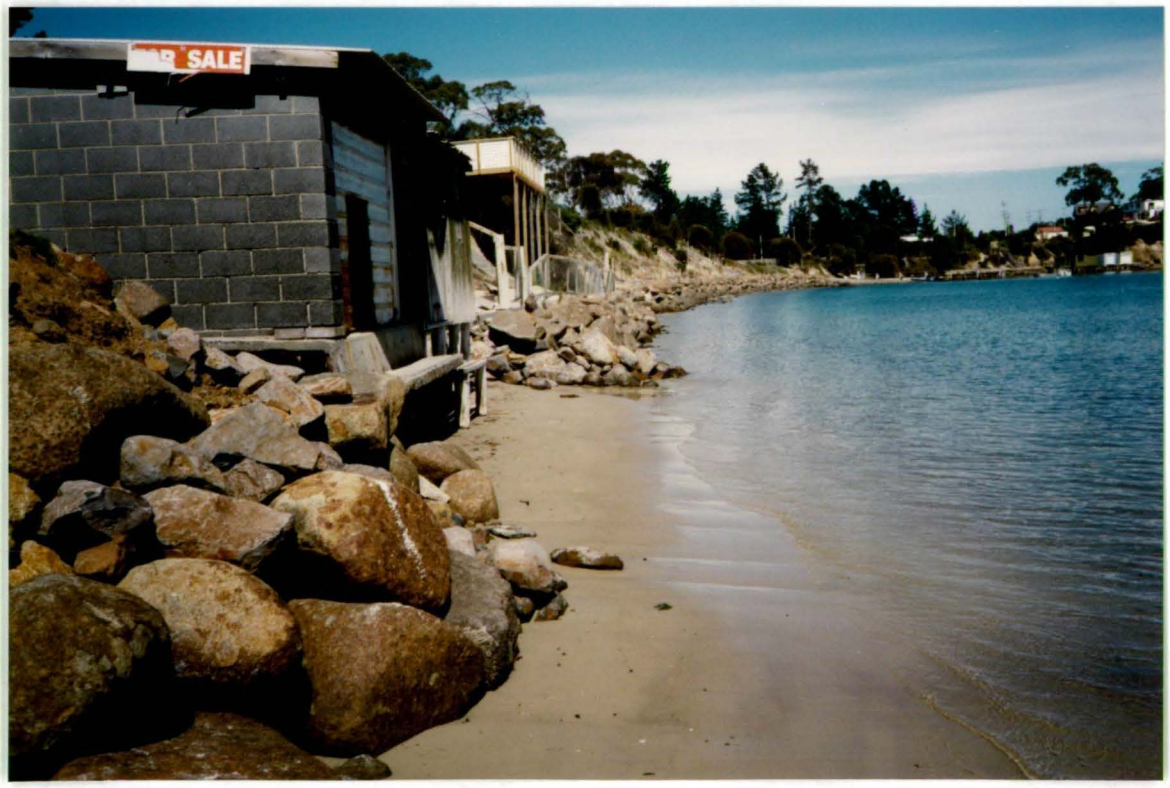



Plate 21 Shore Protection Works on Tiger Head Beach

**Plate 22 Coastal Bank Protection at the Southern End of Okines Beach**

**Plate 23 Dune System at the South-Eastern End of Primrose Beach**

**Plate 24 Management of the Dune System at the South-Eastern End of Primrose Beach**

**Plate 25 Backshore Management Behind the South-Eastern End of Primrose Beach**

along Primrose Beach, however, private land ownership has not made possible the development of similar methods of coastal protection. The result is shown in Plate 26 which looks north–west along Primrose Beach. Destruction of both vegetation and of the structure of the dune system is evident with beach access being uncontrolled and open to both people and vehicles (Plate 27). The area behind the dune system is significantly degraded by the combined effect of fire, grazing and people (Plate 28). Further towards the north–western end of Primrose Beach the dune system has been subdivided and had homes built upon it (Plate 29). In the past ten years the building of homes on top of dune systems in the Eastern Beaches has been approved by the Sorell Council through the Town and Country Planning Commission. The wisdom of building homes on a dynamic landform such as a dune system, in the process making both public access to and management of the dune system more difficult, is questionable (Figure 7.23).

Exotic flora proliferate in the Eastern Beaches. Plate 30 shows the Blue Lagoon wet land behind Red Ochre Beach to be infested with boneseed (*Chrysanthemoides monilifera*) and pine trees (*Pinus radiata*). Exotic fauna are also a problem in the Eastern Beaches. Previous to holiday home development, the Eastern Beaches were cleared for sheep and cattle grazing. Today, errant sheep can still be a problem and feral cats and dogs take their toll on the native wildlife (as evidenced in Case Study 6). Plate 31 encapsulates the impact of people, and the exotics in their train, upon the Eastern Beaches; to all intents and purposes the native flora has been cleared for grazing, apart from a stubborn sheoak (*Allocasuarina stricta*), the soil is exposed to weathering and erosion, exotic flora such as boneseed are invading the disturbed area and exotic fauna, in the form of an untethered and presumably feral goat, are free to disturb further the embattled native flora and fauna of the area.

Many of the recommendations made by Dobson and Williams in 1978 have not been implemented. Considering the lack of funds available for environmental management, however, as well as the constraints imposed by private property ownership progress has been made. Shore protection works have been undertaken in certain places and beach access is better controlled. The major failing is in not developing an environmental management plan and, as a corollary, a goal oriented plan for development in the Eastern Beaches. For example, the siting of homes on top of the dune system has preceeded apace despite the folly of this practice having been

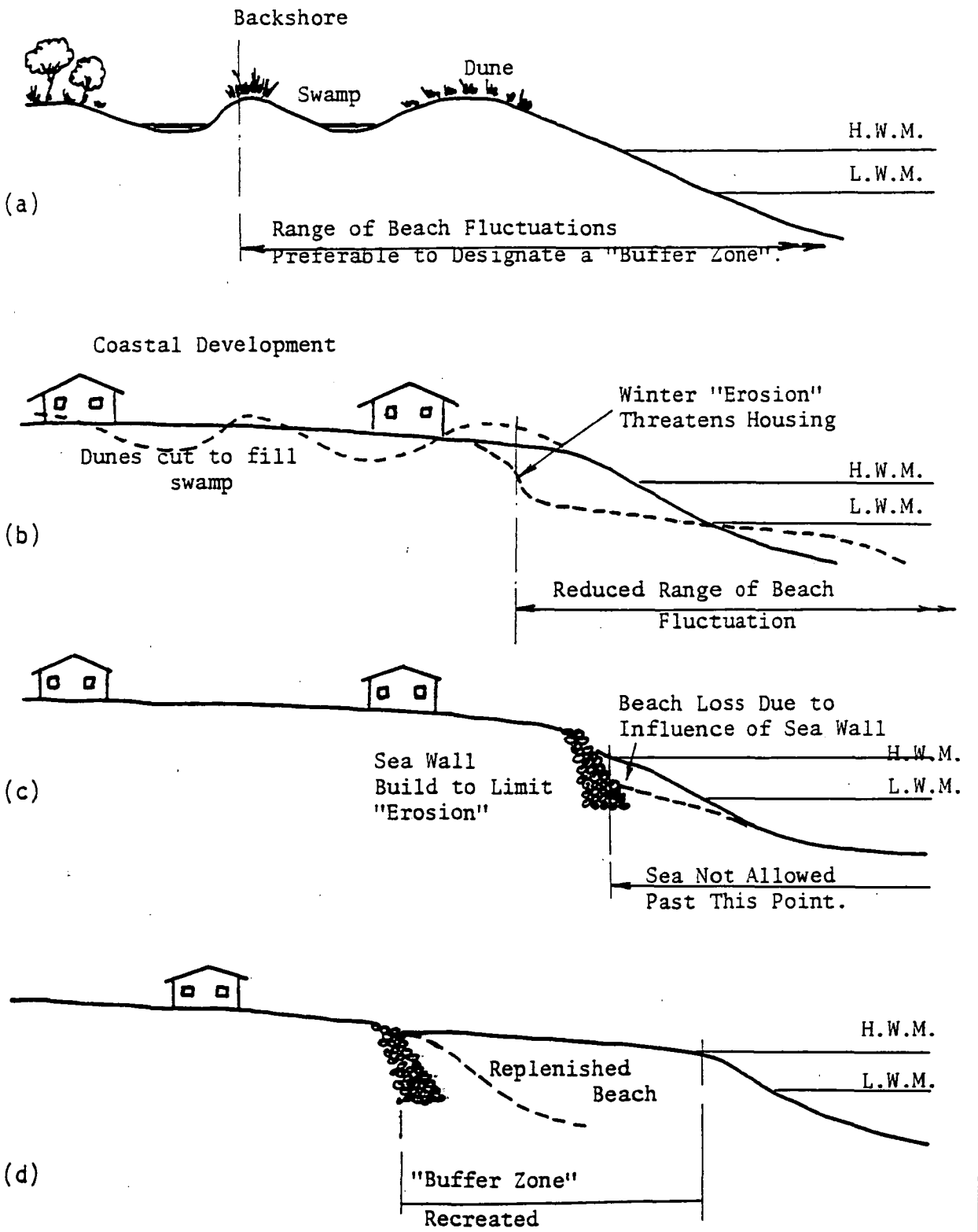
**Plate 26 Dune System at the North-Western End of Primrose Beach**

**Plate 27 Access Track to Primrose Beach used by both People and Vehicles**

**Plate 28** Condition and Management of the Natural Environment Behind the Middle Section of Primrose Beach

**Plate 29** Homes Built upon the Dune System at the North-Western End of Primrose Beach

Figure 7.23 Sequence of Coastal Development Resulting in Construction of Sea Wall to Protect Housing and Beach Replenishment to Re-create Buffer Zone through which HighWater Mark is Allowed to Fluctuate




Source: Dobson and Williams (1978)

Plate 30 Condition of the Natural Environment in the Blue Lagoon Wetland Behind Red Ochre Beach

Plate 31 Condition of the Natural Environment on top of Spectacle Head in the Eastern Beaches

outlined by Dobson and Williams in 1978. The Sorell Council possesses the ability, through its regulatory planning responsibility, to influence the design and siting of buildings in the Eastern Beaches. A disparity has existed in the past in the application of building regulations within the Sorell municipality with one rule (of thumb) for holiday home areas and one for urban areas such as the Sorell township. Regulations need to be applied uniformly across the Sorell municipality but, more than this, regulatory planning needs to be used to ensure the environmentally sensitive and sensible design (colour, materials and structure) and siting of homes (not on dune systems or reclaimed wetlands as these are, first, worthy of preservation and, secondly, unsuitable house sites). Moreover, guidelines regarding subdivisions and development ventures in relation to design, siting, infrastructure and landscaping should be developed and proposals should be conditional upon environmental impact assessment. These measures, however, need to be developed within an overall management framework. Without the interrelated development of an environmental management plan and a development plan for the Eastern Beaches existing problems can not be meaningfully addressed and potential problems can not be anticipated, obviated or budgeted for. This last point is taken up in Chapter 8.

### 7.3.2 Perceived Environmental Impacts and Issues in the Eastern Beaches

Perceived environmental impacts and issues in the Eastern Beaches are taken from the interview survey. Awareness of environmental issues in the Eastern Beaches was both wide ranging and detailed. At the time of interviewing a local landcare group was about to be established formally. Since interviewing this "small and embryonic" landcare group has consulted with a landcare officer of the Department of Parks, Wildlife and Heritage and made its presence known to the Sorell Council. The principal goals of the landcare group are to promote awareness in the local community of local land care issues and to initiate action regarding the current degradation of the natural environment. The landcare group is motivated by a concern that environmental issues are not being given either appropriate priority or attention by public authorities. Many households have moved away from urban areas with their consequent environmental degradation and are concerned that this scenario not be repeated in the Eastern Beaches. A spokesperson for the landcare group felt that advise given them by the landcare officer to take a "softly softly" approach with the

Sorell Council was contrary to what many felt was needed. This sentiment was echoed by a number of households interviewed. In short, the Sorell Council was seen as being one of the main environmental "vandals" in the Eastern Beaches. For example, considerable knowledge of the native flora was demonstrated by a number of households interviewed. These households especially criticised the Sorell Council's "ignorant" approach to the clearing of vegetation in the Eastern Beaches. A need for native buffer zones was widely expressed, the native flora not being viewed as a potential fire hazard but as an environmental asset and the habitat of native fauna. One household interviewed criticised the seemingly extemporary clearing of native flora. Another, when approaching an officer of the Sorell Council supervising such roadside "scrub" clearance (while studiously avoiding exotic flora) was told that "all I know is the roads and the road surface". Subdivision guidelines which did not include the protection of native flora were also queried. The Sorell Council, however, is also the public authority with which households will have to work if their concerns are to be addressed.

Clearly, a change in the mindset of the Sorell Council as well as of many households in the Eastern Beaches is required. People need to be educated as to the value of native flora and fauna as well as of means of minimally impacting upon the natural environment. Currently, many households interviewed felt that there were two primary problems regarding environmental management: first, "if you want it done, you do it yourself and that's the problem, there's no control"; and, secondly, the Sorell Council had neither an environmental management plan, the skills or understanding to develop an environmental management plan nor any environmental sensibilities. Moreover, the Sorell Council was felt to have competing priorities due to its control by non–local (Eastern Beaches) rural interests. The spokesperson for the landcare group, and this was an opinion expressed by many of those households interviewed, felt that the Sorell Council needed to consider itself to be entering a new era. It could no longer consider itself a "sleepy country council" but as a professional authority with a responsibility to develop a detailed knowledge of the human and natural aspects of its area and to develop, in consultation with the community, a management plan which was underpinned by scientific research and was thus relevant, informed and effective. No household expected the Sorell Council solely to fund or undertake research and management but many felt that the Sorell Council did have a responsibility to act as an interface between residents and various government authorities. In short, what was

felt to be needed by many households interviewed was the development of an "holistic approach", at the co-ordinative centre of which was the Sorell Council, bringing together the needs and wants of the local community with the resources of government agencies in an informed, considered and comprehensive way. Currently, as one household interviewed put it, "we don't know, and I don't think the council or the [State] government knows, what on earths going on".

More specifically, some of the longer term residents interviewed expressed concern over the reclamation of winter wetlands for home construction. First, the destruction of a native wetland was criticised and, secondly, the siting of homes in such areas was questioned. The past ten to fifteen years were felt to have been unusually dry in the Eastern Beaches. Many longer term residents recalled "sopping" winters when flooding was common and especially severe in combination with a spring tide. Desultory drainage works around reclaimed wetlands, where in place, would be of little use in this situation as the groundwater table would have risen to saturate the area. Some longer term residents could remember paddling small boats, under such conditions, on many of the areas which today have homes built on them; "sooner or later some of those houses are going to get wet feet".

Concern over septic tank drainage has already been mentioned in Case Study 3. Of those households interviewed, avid fishing, swimming and surfing households were especially concerned: first, with how the increased number of septic tanks in the area was affecting groundwater as well as to where septic tank effluent was draining; and, secondly, if some form of sewage treatment was to be developed (ignoring for the moment who was to pay for such treatment) would it be to the primary, secondary or tertiary treatment stage and where would the resulting effluent be pumped? Without a comprehensive environmental audit the Sorell Council does not know and can not effectively develop answers to these questions. Drainage is already acknowledged to be a problem in Lewisham where a number of residents reported the surreptitious piping of sullage into roadside stormwater ditches as well directly into Clarks Bay (under the cover of bushes or boatsheds).

The beaches of the area attracted most comment regarding environmental management in the Eastern Beaches. The general feeling was that "the beaches are more polluted [and degraded] each year". The concern with pollution was mainly

with litter, glass and [dog] faeces, all of which were felt to be worse during summer. The attitude of "shackies" was criticised, holidaying "townies" being held most responsible for vehicles on the beach, noisy and dangerous jet ski riding and increased beach pollution. Longer term residents interviewed noted a deterioration in both the structure and vegetation of the dune system leading to an accelerated rate of bank erosion.

Three main points arise from Subsection 7.3.1 and Subsection 7.3.2. First, the Sorell Council and other government authorities have made limited attempts to address previously identified environmental problems. Secondly, the way in which environmental problems have been tackled has been relatively unco–ordinated and unmethodical, developing neither cross–agency co–operation nor a systematic environmental management plan. At the same time, the major long term problems associated with the increased development of the Eastern Beaches have become more pressing. Thirdly, the environmental awareness of the local community has increased to the point where a local landcare group has been established. Together, these points indicate the need for the development of an informed environmental management plan, as well as a goal oriented plan for development, which links the needs and wants of the local community with the resources of various government authorities through the agency of the Sorell Council in an environmentally sensitive way. The undertaking of local human and natural environmental management as a component of an overall socially and environmentally sensitive vision for the City of Hobart is discussed in Chapter 8.

# 8.0 DISCUSSION

There are two sections in this chapter: first, a human section in which the human environment in this study is discussed; and, secondly, an environmental section in which management of the natural environment is discussed in relation to the development of the Eastern Beaches.

## 8.1 THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

### 8.1.1 Introduction

In this subsection there is a progression through six interrelated themes. First, the heyday and subsequent decline of the industry based social contract since 1945 in Hobart, Tasmania is discussed. This development is related to state fiscal policy in times of boom and recession and how this affects the housing situation of low income households. Secondly, semiurban development is discussed as being an expression of underlying causes which are not addressed through the policy response of urban consolidation. Thirdly, the structural framework underlying semiurban development is discussed. The starting point for understanding semiurban development is taken as being the capitalist system which is based upon a distinct form of property relations and production relations between capital and labour. The role and operation of the property market in capitalist society is also examined. Fourthly, the way in which ideology is shaped by, and in turn shapes, the land and housing market and the strategies of households is used as a general linking subsection between the consideration of structure and agency. Fifthly, the importance of agency is discussed, for it is people who apply capital and who develop housing strategies, within structural limits, in an almost endless variety of ways:

> The wage relation is more than an economic one: producing things entails relations: relations are social, between whole beings who exist, including capitalists, in many dimensions (Yeo and Yeo 1982 in Thrift 1983 p35).

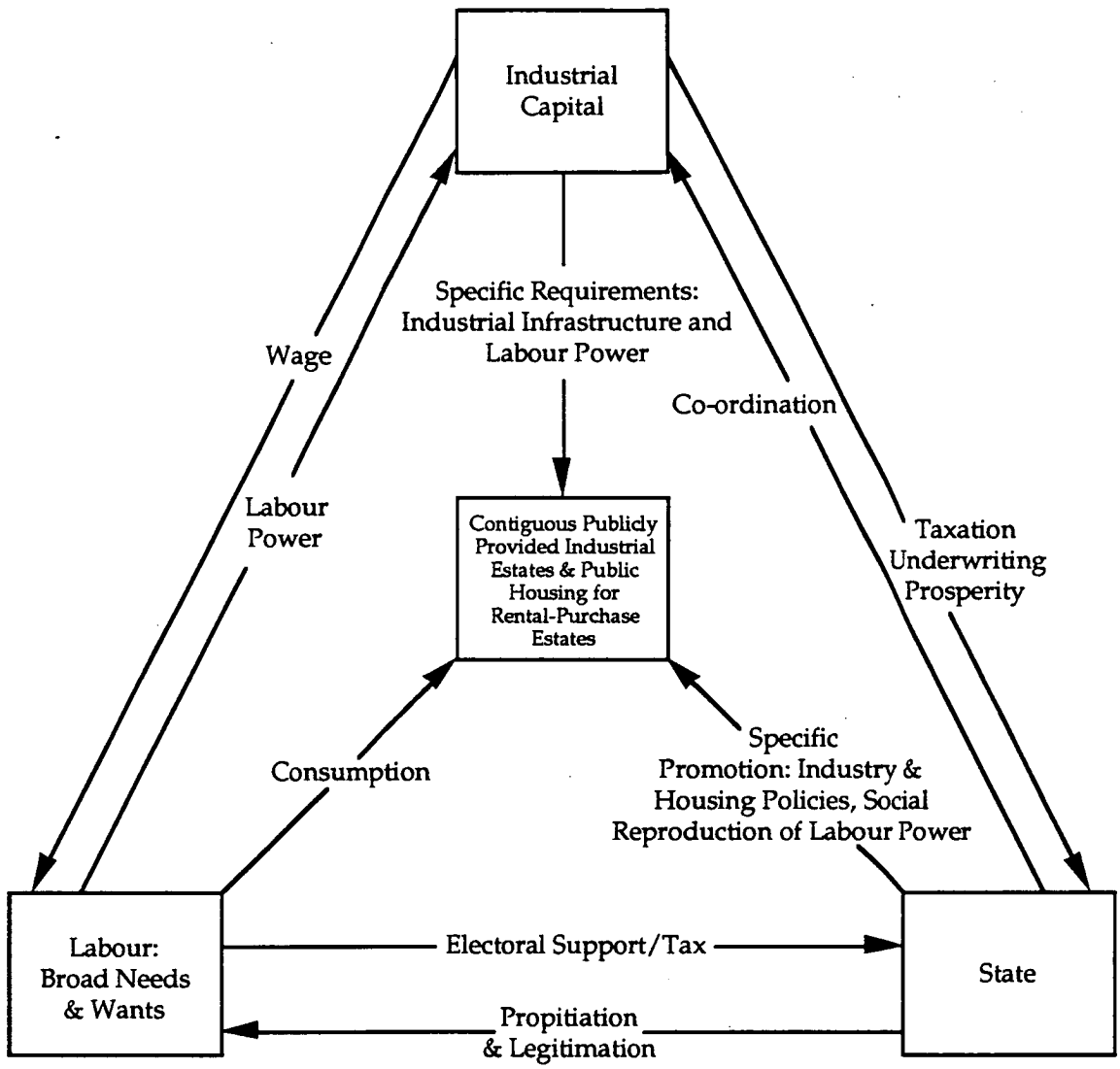
Finally, the linking of structure and agency is undertaken, emphasising structural determinations in a non-reductionist way by considering the specific role of agency.

The focus in this subsection is the importance of structure and agency in defining and mediating social processes which operate at a particular time in relation to a particular spatial configuration to produce a particular contingent semiurban outcome in the case of the Eastern Beaches.

### 8.1.2 From Boom to Decline: Roles and Implications Regarding Capital, Labour and the State 1945 to the Present

Following World War II, publicly provided housing for purchase at cost was used by the state to ensure the contiguous and amenable location of labour for industry. In Hobart, the development of the Derwent Park industrial estate occurred at the same time as the development of surrounding public housing estates (Bradshaw 1989). The state played an integral role in the social reproduction of labour power for industry and, in return, industry provided taxable wages and profits which contributed to the financing of public expenditure on the social contract; industry was needed by the state in order to employ labour and underwrite prosperity. In short, the state needed industry, industry needed labour and labour needed housing. The political party which managed this conjunction was assured of electoral success and in Tasmania it was a Labour Government which provided housing as the basis of assistance offered labour, labour being the basis of assistance offered industry. Consequently, the Labour Party in Tasmania enjoyed a virtually unbroken period of Government between 1934 and 1975, first under Ogilvie, then Cosgrove and lastly Reece (Davis 1983). During this period labour was an intrinsic component of labour intensive industrial production, as industry was of the social contract. Public housing for purchase at cost for labour was provided by the state for industry at the same time as industry underwrote the state subsidised extension of home ownership down the income distribution by the production of taxable wages and profits (Figure 8.1).

**Figure 8.1 The Capital-Labour-State Relationship 1945 - 1970**




By 1970, industrial employment for labour in Hobart was declining. The relocation and rationalisation of industry resulted in a steadily decreasing demand for industrial employment, as the dereliction of the Derwent Park industrial estate by productive industry attests. Initially this trend made possible the location of public housing away from industry and the Federal Whitlam Labor Government's increase in funding for public housing in 1973/74 resulted in the development of broad acre public housing estates which maximised scale economies and took advantage of cheap land on the outskirts of Hobart. This development coincided with the 1975 Henderson Inquiry into Poverty which revealed that many of the poor in Australia were not publicly housed and that many of those publicly housed were not poor. In view of the

post–World War II role of non–means tested public housing as being one of providing industry with an amenable and appropriate labour force and labour with acceptable housing, Henderson's findings were not surprising. Labour needed a reason to locate next to and work for industry and what better guarantee of a stable labour force for industry than a labour force which needed to work in the long term to pay off a public asset which was fixed in space? With the decline in the public housing for industry link, however, it was now possible for state policy to give greater priority to the social welfare role of public housing. Thus, both the location and orientation of public housing altered from 1975. This change resulted in the public development of outer urban areas such as Bridgewater, Gagebrook, Maranoa Heights and Clarendon Vale. The welfare orientation of public housing resulted in the disproportionate location in these areas of disadvantaged households, most of which received a rent rebate. Problems associated with isolating not only income but educationally and socially disadvantaged households, stigmatised public housing in the eyes of 'mainstream' society. The transition undergone by public housing between 1945 and the present is summarised in Table 8.1.

**Table 8.1 Transition in Public Housing Orientation 1945 - 1991**

| Public Housing 1945 - 1970 | Public Housing 1970 - 1991 |
|---|---|
| - Relatively centrally located regarding employment and services<br>- Affordable (at cost rental-purchase)<br>- Acceptable (no means test)<br>- Employment a necessary condition for rental-purchase | - Isolated (not integrated into the community, identifiable enclave)<br>- Subsidised (rent rebate)<br>- Stigmatised (means tested welfare orientation)<br>- Unemployment a necessary condition for rent rebate |

Industrial restructuring has resulted in a decline in industrial employment in both Tasmania and Australia as well as the repatriation and 'off–shore' movement of profits. Consequently, the industrial basis of post–World War II prosperity has been eroded. The crucial industrial contribution to the social contract has declined leaving the state with more social costs but less means with which to bear them. Macroeconomic reform (Federal Government) and economic rationalism (Federal, State and Local Government) have been the two main public policy responses to these developments. These policies are aimed: first, at making Australia more

internationally competitive so as to promote a return to prosperity; and, secondly, at making government more efficient in order that it do more with less and break the public debt cycle. Macroeconomic reform and economic rationalism are based upon the premise that Australian industry and the Australian population have been cocooned and cossetted for too long; sacrifices need to be made if Australia is to stand solvent in the global economy. Unfortunately, and in keeping with the fiscal crisis of the state, it is welfare which takes the brunt of economic rationalism. It is inefficient and economically irrational (in terms of cost recovery and the balancing of budgets) effectively to assist the disadvantaged. Thus, in times of industrial and economic restructuring and hardship the drive for efficiency in government is translated into belt tightening and restricted opportunities for the disadvantaged as the state scales down its discretionary commitment to social welfare. What it has been possible for the state to pursue in more prosperous times, for example the subsidised extension of home ownership down the income distribution, is abandoned as an untenable indulgence once restructuring severs such assistance from direct relation to capital and places pressure upon the financially strained state to reduce its welfare commitments. Since 1970, the social contract has been in a process of redefinition with developments in the global economy requiring industry restructuring and the state being forced to reassess its fiscal and monetary priorities, the result of which has been an abridged redistribution of wealth which has principally been borne by low income households due to the retreat of the welfare state.

As with other social services, public housing funding has been cut back. For example, between 1983/84 and 1988/89 Federal CSHA specific purpose payments to Tasmania fell by approximately 27.8 per cent (Felmingham and Rutherford 1989 p438). Moreover, rent rebates attenuate Tasmania's public housing revenue base. Thus, public housing development in Hobart is limited to infill housing, which is costly and subject to resistance by residents, and a higher income oriented trial development at Huntingfield, south of Kingston (Martin 1991). Public housing development and industry are no longer linked in Hobart as housing is no longer central to the propitious supply and reproduction of labour for industry; public housing is no longer directly associated with the primary circuit of capital circulation. Before the funds ran out and before the welfare orientation of public housing began to adversely affect public housing revenue, broad acre public housing was provided to assist low income households. However inappropriate this policy response was, today it is no

longer possible to develop broad acre public housing. Thus, public housing: first, no longer acts as a gateway to home ownership for low income households; and, secondly, for some 4000 Tasmanian households annually, who qualify for but miss out on public housing assistance, neither does public housing assist the disadvantaged. Private home purchase in isolated and poorly serviced semiurban areas by low income households (many of which would have once agreeably qualified for public home purchase) is the human side of the restructuring of capital and the state. The collective social and economic costs of this outcome are only today beginning to be realised.

Housing is now primarily the preserve of a well established private industry covering the entire range of the process of housing provision, from land development, through home building and the exchange of land and housing, to the supply of finance for home purchase. Housing provision has become primarily an end in itself, serving the profit oriented requirements of the housing industry. Admittedly, this aspect was present in post–World War II housing provision but, during this period, housing was also used by the state to assist both capital and labour in production and, later, as an integral part of the welfare state. With the decline in the importance of the industrial capital–labour relation and, following this, the state's effective withdrawal from low income home purchase housing provision (symptomatic of the decline in the welfare state), the provision and pricing of housing has largely been left to the private sector, especially since partial financial deregulation in 1986. The private market, however, unlike the state, possesses no mechanism to assist low income households to access housing. There is no onus of responsibility and no room for subsidy in the private market provision of housing for profit. Land and housing are treated as commodities in capitalist society and today they are distributed within the secondary circuit of capital circulation, are removed from any direct relation with production and are only subject to a modicum of direct state involvement. Low income households, once so essential to industry and whose state provided housing was an important component of the industry based social contract, have today been abandoned by both capital and the state and left to meet their basic housing needs within a non–responsible and self–serving private market. The private market's primary response to the housing needs of low income households is home purchase in isolated and locationally disadvantaged semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches.

### 8.1.3 From the Description of a Spatial Expression to the Need to Understand its Underlying Causal Processes

The focus in this study is the present position of low income households within the particular spatial context of the semiurban area of the Eastern Beaches. As outlined in Chapter 3, understanding in the literature and in government of the position of low income households in semiurban areas is primarily locational. Locational disadvantage is put forward by housing commentators and in government policy as both a description of, and a reason for, problems experienced by low income households in semiurban areas. Disadvantage is treated as a spatial problem which can, therefore, be spatially fixed. Thus, urban consolidation is pursued as a means, in one stroke, to slow urban sprawl, reduce infrastructure costs and tackle locational disadvantage. However, even if locational aspects could be adequately addressed by urban consolidation, disadvantage would still remain. An understanding of the influences combining to locate low income households in semiurban areas is needed if structural disadvantages in the nature and operation of the housing market within capitalist society are to be grasped. It is in the position of low income households regarding the housing market as well as the position of both low income households and the housing market within the capitalist system that understanding of structural disadvantage is to be found.

Moreover, policy debate is finding it difficult to move beyond the rhetorical discussion of ideals. The lack of an explicit critical theoretical understanding of the production of the built environment means that the canvassing of a wide range of options is not possible because many options are contrary to the operation of an established and uncritically accepted land, housing and development process. Debate is baulking at discussion of how to pursue the specifics of, for example, restructuring and reducing the size of the city so as to promote public transport instead of private motor vehicle use, because many commentators are at a loss as to how to achieve such ends within the established framework of development. Many current specious, common sense and general solutions are bankrupt of the means to pursue them because they are theoretically bankrupt. The atheoretical level at which debate is being conducted, however, masks an unstated theoretical complicity with the established process of the production of the built environment. The idealistic solutions proposed in response to current urban issues imply radical change in the way in which the city is structured,

with implications for both form and procedure. It is procedural change that current debate can not tackle because it does not possess the means to examine critically the established production of the built environment with its existing structural inequities (as the lip–service given the equity implications of cost recovery discussed in Chapter 3 demonstrates). The current process of production of the built environment has urban development proceeding apace despite the state no longer being able to meet the collective costs involved. As far as the state provision of infrastructure, the housing of low income households and the condition of the natural environment are concerned, the established process and form of development is no longer working. A critical theoretical understanding of the established process and form of development is needed so that theory informed policy debate and formation is promoted, based upon an understanding of the inequities of the current system, which specifically addresses the development of new public and private means with which to restructure the city. Meaningfully addressing issues such as urban sprawl, locational disadvantage, environmental degradation, the finance of physical and social infrastructure and principles such as ecologically sustainable development and social justice will require the state to increase both its level of analysis and level of intervention in the operation of the land and housing market, the opposite of which appears to be occurring at the moment.

Locational disadvantage is, following Lefebvre (1991), an example of the obfuscation of space. Space, or in this case location, is misconstrued as a root cause. Locational disadvantage conceptualises space as being more than absolute; it acknowledges that some households' location relative to employment and services puts them at a disadvantage compared to other households. Logically, according to this relativist conception of space, disadvantage can be addressed by changing location. This logic is only possible due to the false conflation of location and disadvantage. Tackling locational disadvantage through urban consolidation in the name of social justice is only possible if relational space is ignored. The present position of low income households within the spatial context of the Eastern Beaches is socially produced. Invested in any particular place is a history of often competing spatial relations (as exemplified in the Eastern Beaches by the use conflict between remaining holiday home owners and permanent residents) each of which relate with a number of social relations which consist of social entities which have similarly complex relational spatial expression. Thus, the position of low income households in semiurban areas

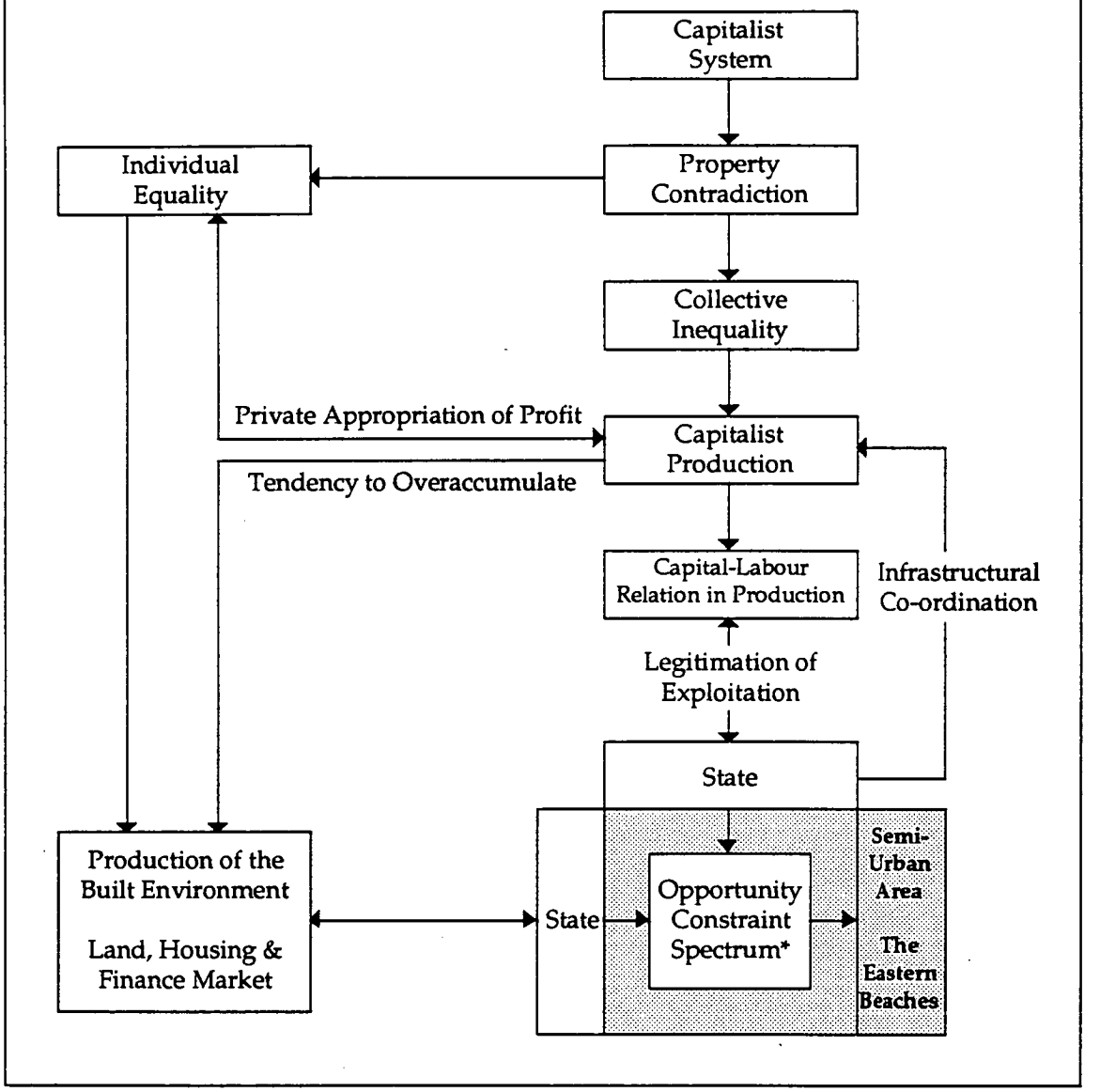
needs to be related to the interaction in time and space of causal processes, operating within broad structural confines, which contribute to the production of sociospatial outcomes. In short, in order to understand the locational disadvantage of low income households in semiurban areas, it is necessary to understand the interconnected causal operation of structure and agency in time and space:

> We fall into the trap of treating space as space 'in itself', as space as such. We come to think in terms of spatiality, and so to fetishise space in a way reminiscent of the old fetishism of commodities, where the trap lay in exchange, and the error was to consider 'things' in isolation, as 'things in themselves' . . . instead of uncovering the social relationships (including class relationships) that are latent in spaces . . . [and] concentrating our attention on the production of space and the social relationships inherent to it – relationships which introduce specific contradictions into production, so echoing the contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the social character of the productive forces (Lefebvre 1991 p90).

### 8.1.4 Broad Structural Influences upon Low Income Households in the Eastern Beaches

In this subsection a diagram conceptualising the interaction of structure and agency is discussed. The structural component of this conceptualisation is given in Figure 8.2. The capitalist system is taken as the starting point for structural understanding. Low income households in the Eastern Beaches exist in a capitalist society which broadly structures their production and consumption relations. What they earn, what they can purchase and for what cost is broadly set within the capitalist system, influenced by low income households' relation with production which, in turn, influences their relation with an established commodity form such as housing. The basis of production relations (income influences opportunity) regarding established forms of consumption (consumption is only possible within a set commodity/value framework) needs to be understood as both inform the context within which households develop housing strategies (why are they low income households, for instance, and why do they 'choose' home ownership in semiurban areas?).

**Figure 8.2 The Broad Structural Component of the Opportunity-Constraint Spectrum for Low Income Households Locating in Semiurban Areas**




A number of writers identify the role of property in one of the capitalist system's fundamental contradictions (Thrift 1983, Duncan and Goodwin 1988 and Gottdiener 1988). The system of capitalist production requires both the socialisation of production, that is the alienation of labour from the land in order for labour to have to enter into a wage relation with capital, and, at the same time, the sanctioning of private property ownership underlying the ability to appropriate profit. Both of these aspects of the nature of property in capitalist society affect the position of low income households in the Eastern Beaches.

"Capitalist relations require land to be expensive" (Gottdiener 1988 p220). Capital not only has to own the means of production but, in order to ensure a supply of labour power, it also needs to alienate and assign sufficient value to land as well. By alienating the land and controlling the means of production, capital can commodify its produced and landed holdings as property, access to which is gained through a wage which can only be earned within the exploitative capitalist production process. In capitalist society, landed property is treated as a nominalist parcel; space is considered to be absolute. That property is not absolute but anthropomorphic is not recognised. Landed property (space) is delimited in order that it be controlled and/or commodified. The capitalist control of space underpins the socialisation of production. The commodification of space as property makes possible its exchange for Marx's "universal equivalent", money:

> Repetitious spaces are the outcome of repetitive gestures (those of workers) associated with instruments which are both duplicatable and designed to duplicate: machines, bulldozers, concrete-mixers, cranes, pneumatic drills, and so on. Are these spaces interchangeable because they are homologous? Or are they homogeneous so that they can be interchanged, bought and sold, with the only differences between them being those accessible in money – i.e. quantifiable – terms (as volumes, distances, etc.)? (Lefebvre 1991 p75).

The ability to appropriate landed property underlies the collective inequality of labour and ensures labour's participation in production. Individual equality working for few (capital) is the basis of collective inequality for many (labour) as well as of the ability to exploit inequitable property relations to appropriate surplus value actuated by propertyless labour forced to enter into capitalist production relations. Most low income households purchasing a home in the Eastern Beaches previously owned no land or housing and their ability to begin to do so is based upon securing an income within capitalist society which makes possible access to a range of socially produced and valued commodities such as housing. The alienation of labour from the land and the ability of anyone to own property, provided that they have the means to do so, also presents fractions of capital with the opportunity to profit from the sale of land back to labour in a form and at a cost sufficient to guarantee the supply of labour as well as to secure a healthy profit margin; in other words, the long term purchase of a home on a block of land.

The interests coalescing around the institution of private property in capitalist society influence the opportunity–constraint spectrum of labour as surely as does labour's wage relation with capital. The capital–labour relation influences labour's ability to access the capitalist structured land and housing market. Capital influences the means, as well as the structure within which labour pursues home ownership. Because of its tendency to overaccumulate in the primary circuit of capital circulation, capital seeks investment outlets elsewhere. Consequently, a secondary circuit of capital circulation has developed based upon the (re)production of the built environment. A major component of secondary circuit capital circulation is concerned with the housing of labour. In a broad sense the built environment represents use values imposed upon labour by capital. The capitalist system "defines the standard of living of labour . . . through the creation of built environments which conform to the requirements of accumulation and commodity production" (Harvey 1981 p18). While a mutually affective tug–of–war centres around the definition of the built environment, between "what is good for people and what is good for accumulation" (Harvey 1981 p20), the broad structure of urban development is fundamentally influenced by the ownership or control of property and the imperatives underlying the land and housing market. Though the secondary or "parallel" (Gottdiener 1988) circuit of capital circulation in the built environment is based upon capital switching from the primary circuit, it involves different fractions of capital. The housing industry comprises many interests which are based on the institution of private property, not primary production. Developers, surveyors, home builders large and small, financiers of the purchase of land and housing and real estate agents profit from the development and exchange of land and housing. It is the imperatives of these interests and the institution of private property upon which they are based which structure the supply of land and housing. The secondary circuit is relatively autonomous and represents the cutting edge of capital's restructuring in space; the secondary circuit, however, is difficult to regulate. While the broad features of capital's restructuring are traced in space, the specifics and extent of investment in the built environment are impossible to predict or control. Consequently, investment is characterised by cycles and can, at times, be inimical to the operation of the primary circuit of capital circulation (Gottdiener 1988). The state is relatively powerless to address this situation due to its lack of control over private property.

Figure 8.2 shows that the state operates in a variety of ways. The state is, in part, responsible for the infrastructural, economic and political facilitation of the sociospatial relations of production, as well as the influencing of specific outcomes, and it also operates to legitimate and co–ordinate production and assist the (re)production of the built environment. The fact that the state lacks control over the specifics and extent of investment, or in the case of the Eastern Beaches even detailed knowledge of it, does not mean that it is not involved in the (re)production of the built environment. The state is involved, first, in the juridical safeguarding of property. The law upholds the right of individual entities to own and control property, thereby undermining the ability of the state to manage the state's collective responsibilities. The state is, secondly, involved in the promotion of growth. Continual (re)development being capital's dynamic, the state is bound to assist development. The particulars of development, however, are a complex combination of the imperatives of capital, established development frameworks (both of operation and of previous development), the policies of the state and the preferences of individuals. A relatively autonomous and self serving secondary circuit based upon freedom to own, control and exchange property, the role of the state to at the same time assist, co–ordinate and mitigate development and the influence of individuals or fractions of capital and labour upon development and the state means that investment in the built environment is not a little anarchic. Indirectly, state zoning or taxation policies operate to assist particular forms of development such as home ownership. Such development can also be subsidised directly by grants or loan schemes and indirectly by the provision of infrastructure. The state can assist or attempt to direct development but it is difficult for the state to change or halt development. For example, the state has actively promoted sprawling urban home ownership. Today, the costs of this form of development are increasingly dysfunctional to the state's co–ordination and management of urban infrastructure, yet the inertia of established procedures, operations, interests and preferences limit the ability of the state to influence the nature of urban development. Moreover, there are three spheres of government in Australia each of which is organised into departments. Each state level and department has its own inertial agenda of priorities and can be accessed by different and often competing fractions of capital and/or labour. Thus, the confusion and competition inherent in the (re)production of the built environment is duplicated in the organisation of the state which, in turn, contributes its own electoral and departmental rationale to the often contradictory assisting, co–ordinating and

mitigating of development.

The value of land and housing is a social product with price being an important distributive mechanism and means of profit. Land and housing are distributed according to ability to pay, as residential differentiation reflects. Income distribution in society influences the distribution of commodified housing in society as well as the distribution of associated amenities, access to employment and services, capital gains and so on; the distribution of which usually varies to the further advantage of the housing rich and the disadvantage of the housing poor (for example, the highest percentage capital gains are usually to be made in the highest value housing areas). Those who are disadvantaged in the labour market are usually disadvantaged in the private housing market where (due to the location of low income households in semiurban areas) lower housing standards, a lower level of physical infrastructure and isolation from employment and services are added to structural disadvantages borne by low income home purchasers.

Figure 8.2 shows that two broad structural influences have input into the opportunity–constraint spectrum of low income households locating in the Eastern Beaches. The first is production related and consists of labour having to enter into a wage relation with capital due to labour's alienation from landed property. Secondly, low income households do not work for a living in capitalist society but for a wage which grants access to a range of socially produced and valued commodities such as housing. The social production of the commodified land/house package as well as the social production of its value serve the specific needs of fractions of capital within the secondary circuit (by guaranteeing a healthy profit margin) and, at the same time, the general interests of capital by absorbing some of capital's surplus but not, due to the high value of the land/house package requiring long term payment, threatening the supply of labour. Many low income households purchasing a home in the Eastern Beaches are struggling to purchase a high value commodity with the relatively low value returns awarded by their type of employment, or lack of employment. Thus, the social and economic value placed upon their work influences their ability to purchase a home which is provided by the private housing market (which has a preferred profit oriented system of housing provision) and is influenced by the state through the assistance or lack of assistance provided to certain income groups, housing tenures and sectors of the housing market. In short, the opportunity–constraint spectrum of

low income households purchasing a home in the Eastern Beaches is broadly structured by income, the form of private market housing provision and the nature of state housing assistance; in other words, production, commodity and state relations.

Collective inequality means that labour has to earn a wage in order to purchase a place in space which, in turn, is made possible by equality of access to property; anyone is free to participate in the land and housing market. The structure of the land and housing market, however, is broadly determined by interaction between capital, labour and the state which defines the limits of possibility for individual agents. The ability of individual entities to access and control property also means that the supply–side operation of the land and housing market is largely unco–ordinated and uncontrollable, lending the fragmented development and implementation of state policy, which has little effect upon private property, an erratic and piecemeal quality. Together, these aspects result in the struggling of low income households in Hobart to save a deposit which, once saved, makes possible a loan granting access to given private housing opportunities only in semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches which continue to be developed despite the individual and collective costs involved.

### 8.1.5 How Ideology Shapes and is Shaped by Structure and Agency

The appreciation of ideology operates on a number of levels. It has implications for epistemology and the (positivist) guise of value free impartiality. It is also important because the capitalist system is functionally dependent upon the propagation of fundamental ideologies (for example, the ideology of growth and development). The recognition of basic ideologies within society (or at least of the impossibility of being value free) contributes to understanding as well as impugns supposed "natural" preferences, behaviours or opinions.

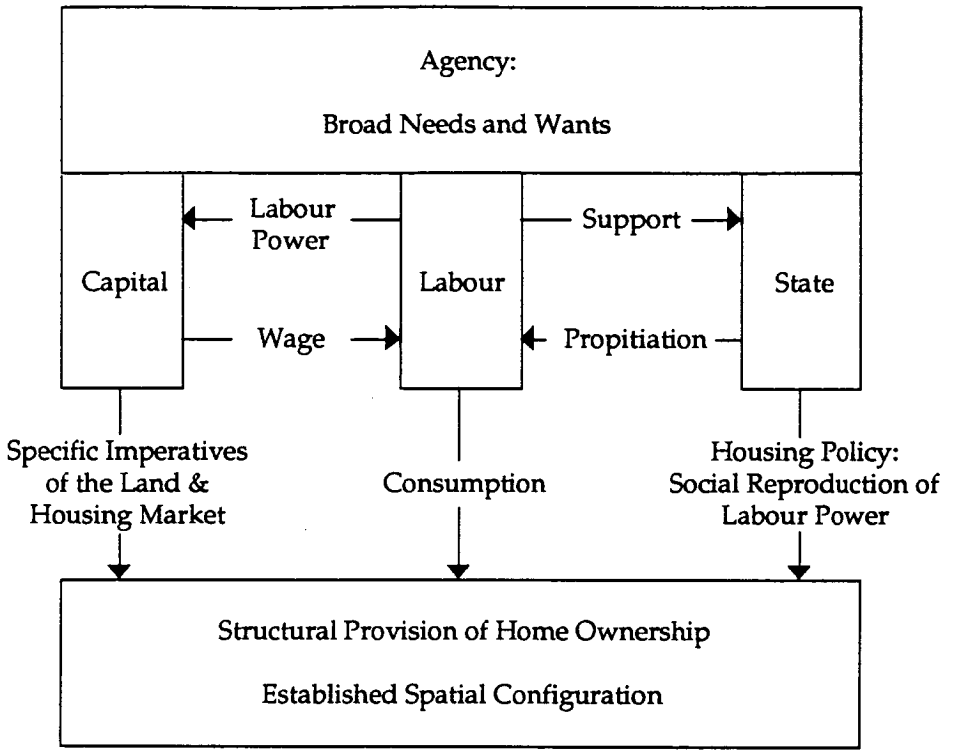
Values and beliefs range across political, religious and cultural aspects of society and are influenced by the way in which relational phenomena are interpreted.. Many ideologies are unconsciously held or expressed. Due to its social construction, ideology is important for two reasons: first, it identifies a common relation, something which most people in a given social group would agree with or are subject to; and, secondly, ideology affects the nature of social outcomes. All ideologies, however, are

not the same. Some operate more subliminally than others, and some are more obviously produced and easily manipulated. Ideology can be used to legitimate social structures, control social actions and influence social outcomes. On the other hand, structures are developed to support and obscure the operation of dominant ideologies. Home ownership is an example of the social construction, operation and support of a dominant ideology. If ideology is "depoliticised speech" (Barthes in Morgan and Sayer 1988 p38) then the uncritical popular and political acceptance of home ownership indicates its ideological predominance.

The ideology of home ownership emphasises the fact that no social outcome is natural. Very often an array of interests cutting across public and private sectors is responsible for the production and nurturing of specific ideologies. Ideology is rarely neutral; it is usually being manipulated to advantage. Complete understanding of the web of ideological relations interwoven with the fabric of society is impossible. Acknowledgement and identification, however, of the use of some of the more obvious or important ideologies, as well as of the existence and influence of others, is crucial to understanding social outcomes.

In this subsection the ideology of home ownership is examined as a link between structure and agency. Home ownership is used by both capital and labour, each of which has a hand in shaping and, in turn, being shaped by both a preference for and the provision of home ownership. Home ownership also exemplifies the role of the state in influencing the nature of social outcomes within the built environment as well as the influence of the spatial configuration of the built environment upon new development. Figure 8.3 conceptualises the relationship of agency, via capital, labour and the state, with the structural provision of home ownership. The aim in this subsection is to explicate this diagram, first, in relation to the structural provision of housing and, secondly, in relation to the broader requirements of agents. The influence of individual agents is discussed in Subsection 8.1.6.

**Figure 8.3 The Structural Provision of Home Ownership and its Relationship with Agency**




*The Structural Provision of Home Ownership*

The origins of the appeal of home ownership are difficult to discern. Suffice to say, however, they are not to be found in the relatively recent development of the capitalist system. Though the desire to exercise control over living conditions is not a capitalist creation, the present form of provision of home ownership is, to a significant extent, a product of capital and the state. Home ownership was the pivot around which capital, labour and the state related following World War II. Capitalist property relations meant that labour was propertyless yet, due to the increasing share awarded to labour in production, also a market in the making. A symbiotic relationship between the industry based prosperity of the permanent war economy and post-World War II urban consumerism, of which home ownership was an integral part, was developed between capital and labour. The subsidised promotion of home ownership for an electorally grateful labour force was pursued by the state in order to ensure labour for industry which produced goods to be consumed by the new housing, transport and domestic needs and wants of urban industrially employed labour as well as taxable profit and wages for the state.

Thus, the predominance of home ownership has not emerged as a matter of natural choice in Australia. Neither is the marginalised position of private rental and public housing a chance development. Many writers have noted the adverse effect that the promotion of home ownership has had upon post–World War II public housing in Australia (Lee 1977, 1979, 1982 and 1986, Neutze 1978 and 1981, Stretton 1978 and 1986, Kendig 1981, Kemeny 1981 and 1983, Flood and Yates 1987 and Gruen 1988). The post–World War II increase in home ownership, from below 50 per cent of households to approximately 70 per cent, was primarily led by an increasingly interventionist state. Since Chifley's 1945 "bitenurial" Commonwealth State Housing Agreement, public housing's position has been steadily eroded and home ownership has been enshrined as the "great Australian dream". Home ownership has been directly promoted by home ownership schemes as well as by the extensive rental–purchase of post–World War II public housing. Home ownership has been indirectly promoted by taxation expenditures such as the non–taxation of capital gains and imputed rent and subsidised by state provision of urban infrastructure. Home ownership has been built to stand unchallenged as the preferred tenure in Australia. It has been made the only sensible economic housing choice. The current National Housing Strategy accepts the support and place of home ownership as being so entrenched as to be beyond policy change. Public housing has been relegated to the role of a "sink or rump tenure", the "Cinderella" of the Australian housing market (Kemeny 1981 and 1983), and private rental assistance falls well short of that of home ownership (Gruen 1988). The marginalisation of private rental and public housing is due to the systematic promotion of home ownership by the state which is today pressured by housing industry interests such as real estate agents, the building industry and financial institutions to maintain the privileged position of home ownership. There now exists bipartisan and uncritical popular political support for home ownership as well as an established and powerful land and housing industry which lobbies the state in the interests of preserving the predominant position of home ownership and, by extension, home ownership's profitable provision.

The state has been intrinsically involved in enshrining home ownership as the "great Australian dream". In this way the state has had a major influence on access by low income households to a particular form of housing and tenure in particular locations. Today, state policy has changed and it is no longer possible for the state extensively to assist low income households to purchase a home. The legacy of past state policy,

however, and its interaction with capital and labour in space remains etched in the built environment. Sprawling public and private outer urban areas, 'leapfrogged' private five acre hobby farm areas and residentially developed holiday home areas (and the associated transport infrastructure linking each of these areas with the inner city) spatially structure current investment and development. Without state subsidised home purchase for low income households within private urban areas, it is only possible for low income households to purchase a home in urban public housing areas or isolated and poorly serviced private semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches.

Labour may stipulate broad needs and wants but the specifics of the fulfilment of these are influenced by capitalist relations. Ownership exclusively makes possible the ability to exchange property; to realise its value to be invested elsewhere. Land and housing have both use and exchange value but they are primarily valued in exchange as commodities. The private land and housing market does not recognise that individuals may have housing use rights; the right to shelter, for example, can only be considered publicly. Land and housing are treated as objects of speculation and profit in capitalist society to which the systematic public and private promotion of home ownership has added exclusive access to basic cross–tenurial rights. Home ownership has come to be exclusively associated with housing characteristics which are potentially universal to all housing tenures. Ownership, however, need not be the only guarantee of access to cross–tenure characteristics, for occupation could also act in this way. Security of tenure and privacy, for instance, could be relatively easily provided in the private rental sector or in public housing. It is such cross–tenure characteristics which are often cited as the principal attractions of home ownership.

Being a member of a low income household need not exclude access to a home; the fact that it often does in capitalist society is related to the way in which land and housing are provided. Cross–tenurial use rights are separated from land and housing in exchange but this does not mean that they disappear. Instead of basic value free, tenure neutral housing use rights, attributes such as security of tenure, privacy and flexibility are vested exclusively in home ownership where they command accessibility premia. The public promotion of home ownership and the marginalisation of private rental and public housing has resulted in the ownership of land and housing becoming more than simply access to property; instead only home

ownership makes possible access to a host of basic cross–tenurial use rights which are exclusively associated with the income discriminatory distribution of a commodity in capitalist society.

The ideology of home ownership is an example of the confluence of capital, labour and the state around a particular commodity, the preference for which can broadly be ascribed to labour but the recent form of provision of which is specifically affected by capital and the state. The broad structural point to be made regarding home ownership is that capitalist relations, first, are responsible for the position wherein labour has to work to purchase a home and, secondly, are responsible for the production of the commodities land and housing. In short, production relations (income), commodity relations (the form and value given land and housing), state policy and the spatial configuration of past development broadly structure the ideological preference of low income households for home ownership.

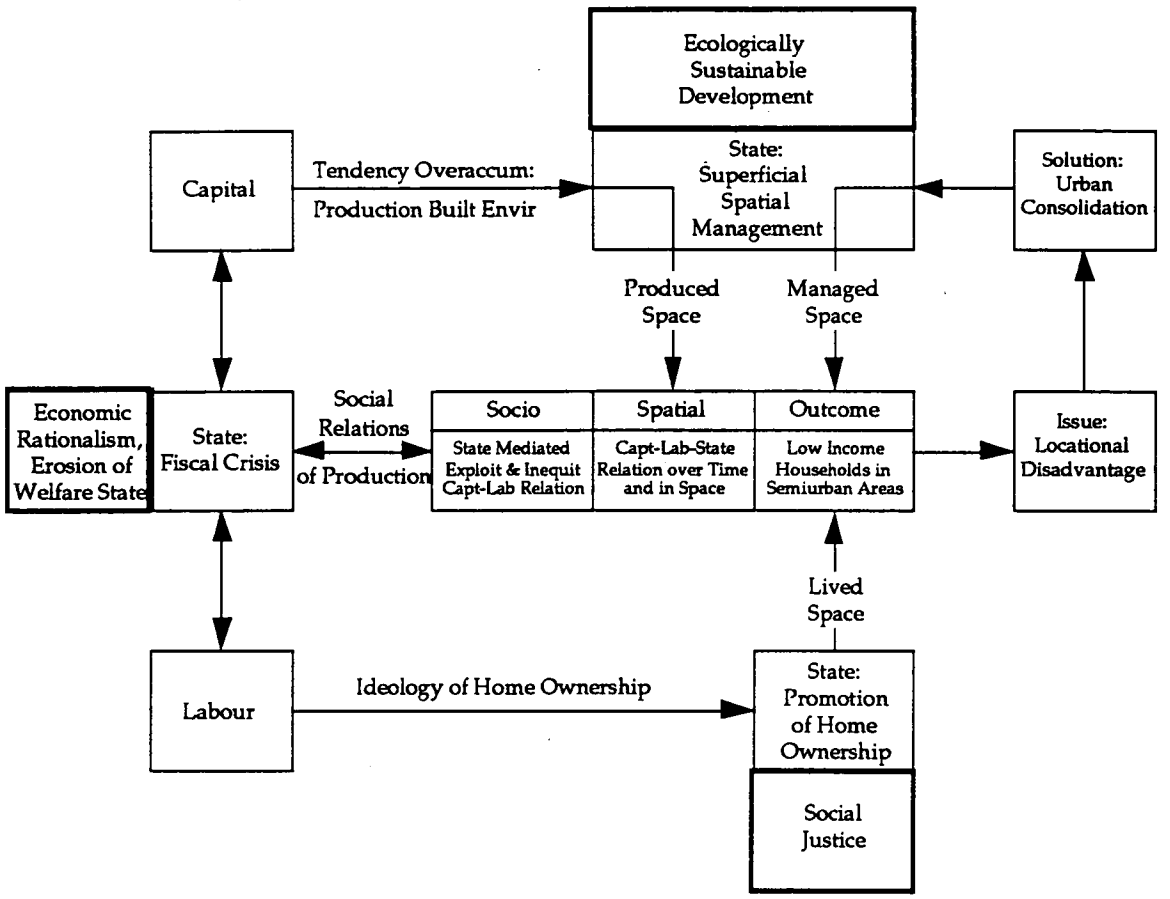
*Agency, Ideology and Home Ownership*

The desire to exercise control over living conditions predates the manipulation of home ownership by capital and the state. Home ownership makes more than sound economic sense based upon state subsidy, it is a fundamental social preference. Whether as an island in a sea of change, a controllable castle in an uncontrollable world, an asset, an outlet for expression, a status symbol, a statement of individuality or independence and so on the appeal of home ownership strikes a deep social chord. Home ownership may be manipulated by capital and the state but it is broadly stipulated by labour. The desire of individuals to have a stable and controllable centre to their existence constitutes a broad guideline which capital and the state may manipulate but must meet if labour is amenably to partake in production and consumption. Just as capital has needs, so too does labour. Home ownership represents the manipulation of one of labour's needs by capital and the state in order to ensure the propitious supply and social reproduction of labour power for capital and the electoral support of the democratic state in capitalism. If labour's broad requirements for an acceptable and accessible housing environment are met then labour's participation in production and consumption relations is virtually guaranteed in return. The long term purchase of a detached home on a quarter acre block is

acceptable to labour, requires labour's participation in the labour force, underpins the capitalist operation of the land and housing market, attracts bipartisan political support and ensures labour's participation in consumption. The increasing cost of accessing urban home ownership, which underlies home purchase by low income households in semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches, is symptomatic of the disintegration of this web of relationships. Industry may have relocated and rationalised its operations and it may no longer be possible for the state to finance the direct subsidy of home ownership or its indirect subsidy through infrastructure provision, but the ideology of home ownership remains unabated. This represents a new crisis for capital and the state in that the provision of commodified land and housing based upon private transport, nuclear home ownership and urban sprawl is increasingly out of touch with the needs and affordability, if not the aspirations, of many Australians. Capital and the state are currently facing a crisis in the housing industry. New ways to provide, finance and service housing are currently being experimented with as capital seeks to negotiate this crisis without unduly upsetting either the structure of the housing industry or its profitability. However, steering a course in Hobart between the ideology of home ownership, the established profit oriented operation of the land and housing market, the reduced ability of State and Local Government Authorities to subsidise home ownership or sprawling urban development and the need for a more compact city form (and bearing in mind the principles of social justice and ecologically sustainable development), all the while being buffeted by the effects of industrial restructuring, fluctuating global economic indices (with which ride the fortunes of regional economies such as Tasmania's) and Federal policy, is a task too complex for current market and state housing structures to achieve. State housing policy and the structure of housing provision will need to be changed, the premise of which is moving debate of urban issues beyond the level of rhetorical pipedreams which stand in contradiction with current state policy and private market housing provision, to a critical theoretically informed examination of the structural foundations underlying current urban issues.

Figure 8.4 conceptualises the current lack of relation between key state principles of operation. Generally, the state faces a fiscal crisis in weighing its assistance of capital and labour. Currently, the state is deeply in debt and is being forced to economically rationalise its services, chiefly welfare. This development influences the state mediated capital–labour relation which underlies the social relations of production.

**Figure 8.4 The Fragmented State and Incompatible Principles**




The state combines with capital and labour over time and in space to produce a particular social space. This social space is made up of many different sociospatial outcomes which the state attempts to manage and within which live individual households. The state is supportive of ecologically sustainable development for capital and social justice for labour and develops policies to pursue each of these principles. Relevant in this study is the location of low income households in semiurban areas and the ensuing locational disadvantage experienced by these households, the solution to which is seen by the state as being urban consolidation. As shown in Figure 8.4, however, economic rationalism (which is a policy by the state for the state), ecologically sustainable development and social justice are not related within the state apparatus. In short, the rationale for urban consolidation is provided by economic rationalism, which is not necessarily related to social justice, and the state's superficial management of space (which does not affect private property, does not address sociospatial processes and is oriented towards facilitating ecologically

sustainable development) means that it is unlikely that social justice will, under the current system of state operation, be meaningfully considered.

Broad needs and wants are expressed by labour but no direct control is exercised over their structural provision:

> Most wants or needs are not innate properties of individuals, already specified and merely awaiting a supply to be satisfied. Needs are strongly influenced by existing patterns of activity or 'productive consumption', their configurations, technical specifications and associated organisational forms and work routines (Morgan and Sayer 1988 p23).

The capitalist structured form of housing provision, assisted by the state, develops its own set of priorities and interests, based upon capitalist imperatives such as profit, and both capital and the state work to obscure the manipulation of home ownership from labour, positing the promotion and provision of home ownership as 'natural' and demand led. Home ownership is also an example of the tyranny of the majority in capitalist society with those not wanting, or for whom it is not possible to purchase a home being consigned to marginal housing positions. Figure 8.3 shows how a broad requirement of labour is used by capital and the state to meet their own requirements, as well as those of labour. Labour may lay the ideological foundations but the housing structure built upon such foundations is specifically influenced by capital and the state. Labour does not live in ideology but in a home which is structured by its provision within the capitalist system; importantly, it is this structural provision of housing with which individual agents relate in an almost endless variety of ways.

The ideology of home ownership, however, is also an example of the influence of agency upon structure. State policy is made and capital is applied by ideologically affected agents. The ideology of home ownership works both for and upon capital, labour and the state. Ideology shapes and, in turn, is shaped by social agents. Those who apply capital and those who develop state policy also, most likely, own homes and they do not leave their socially perceived personal values behind them when they go to work. The ideology of home ownership and the supposedly natural advantages and position of home ownership within the state influenced land and housing market affects the development of state policy and the application of capital. For example,

during World War II the Commonwealth Housing Commission received a number of submissions from the Tasmanian Government lauding the advantages of home ownership:

> Opportunity should be afforded every breadwinner to own his home . . . the implementation of this policy provides a better class of citizen and a higher standard of social welfare . . . Upon the manner in which people are housed depends the standard of our social and national life (Bradshaw 1989 p62).

The Tasmanian Government virtually single–mindedly pursued home ownership after World War II. For instance, Tasmania withdrew from the CSHA between 1950 and 1954 due to Commonwealth restrictions on rental–purchase and, in the early 1970s, was granted special dispensation within the CSHA to sell a proportion of public housing above the Commonwealth rate. As another contemporary example, Menzies was convinced of both the electoral and social benefits of home ownership and was passionately committed to providing "a little piece of earth with a house and a garden" (Menzies in Connell 1977 p215) for every Australian family. Federal Liberal policy under Menzies systematically promoted home ownership at the expense of private rental and public housing.

By the early 1980s, the benefits of home ownership were beginning to be expounded in a semiurban context:

> It is interesting to note how, in the past 20 years or so, the suburbanite dream of a house and a garden has been expanded by many to become a house and 5, 10, 15 or 50 acres on the outskirts of the city.
>
> Most of us have felt at some time a deep rooted urge to get closer to the land which is our natural heritage, and numbers of city dwellers have translated their feelings into action by purchasing small holdings in the outer areas, where their fancies for rural pursuits and sports can be freely indulged without being isolated by distance from the many attractions of the city.
>
> Sunshine, clean air and privacy of living are obvious benefits to be gained, and the development of superior road and multilane highways to cope with city growth has accelerated the trend to move away from the built up areas by providing easy and rapid commuting. Those fortunate enough to have done so are able to throw their

> arms out wide and inhale the scent of the trees with no fear of hitting their next door neighbour in the process ("The Mercury" 3/2/81 Town and Country Real Estate Section).

Developers and real estate agents interviewed positively perceived their role in making possible home purchase for low income young family households in the Eastern Beaches. They saw themselves as facilitating access to what they felt to be (as well as what is, due to state subsidy) a preferable form of housing for households for which home ownership was not possible in private urban areas. Clearly, many agents of capital and the state, not just labour, believe strongly in the development and promotion of home ownership and, as the above examples demonstrate, ideologically affected strategically placed agents can markedly influence the development of social policy and practice (Wilson 1991).

Much in this discussion has considered agency at a more theoretical level of abstraction in terms of labour in relation to capital and the state. An individual agent, however, may be involved in more than one of these areas. Also, home ownership is not specific to labour; those who apply capital and develop state policy are also often home owners. More complex again is the position of one 'overviewer' interviewed who was an employee of a local real estate agency, a home owner in the Eastern Beaches and a member of the Sorell Council. Hence, while the position of many low income households is relatively unambiguous (wage earners not applying capital or developing state policy) the multiple roles of some agents as home owners, state employees or elected members and/or appliers of capital exemplifies the ability of ideology to influence capital, labour and the state and demonstrates that agency is potentially multifaceted.

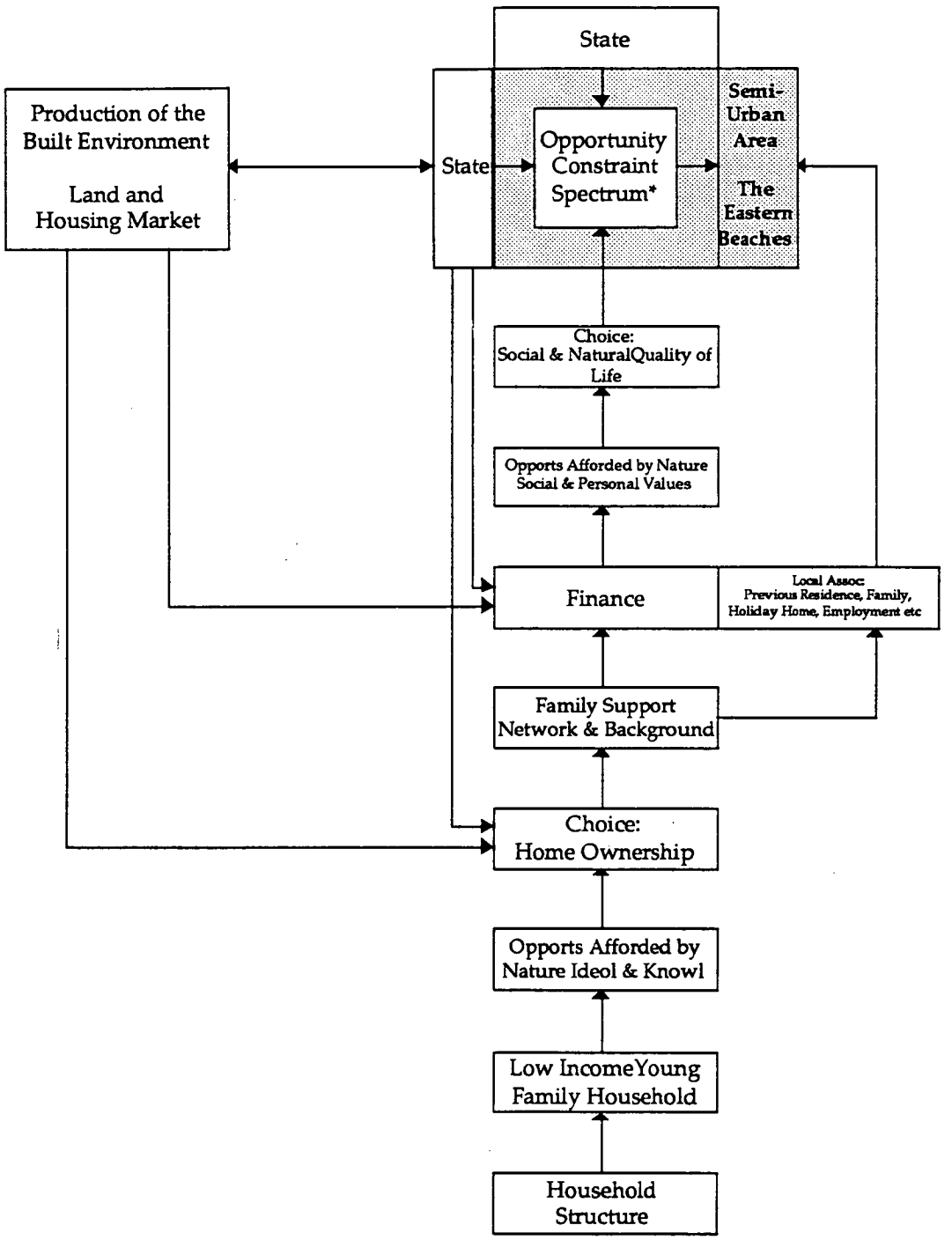
In the next subsection in this chapter the strategies of individual low income households relating with the capitalist structured provision of housing are discussed, specifically in relation to their location in semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches.

### 8.1.6 The Role of Agency in the Development of Housing Strategies by Individual Households in the Eastern Beaches

Previously in this chapter the necessary structural tendencies and contingent causal processes influencing individual households in the Eastern Beaches have been discussed. Production and commodity relations stipulate tendencies which broadly structure the operation of capital, labour and the state. The particularities of regional capitalist relations, however, are influenced by a host of contingencies such as local state policy, the position of the region in relation to the National Government and the global economy, local spatial configurations, the persistence of non–capitalist structures, the nature and location of existing housing, the character of particular labour forces employed by particular capitals and so on (Urry 1987). These contingent factors interact with necessary structural tendencies to inform the nature of particular causal processes. Finally, at the level of the individual event or outcome is the contingent operation and influence of households and their members who uniquely relate with particular causal processes as well as uniquely constitute specific events and outcomes. Individual households and their members shape both the contingent nature of their local social environment, the nature of particular causal processes and the operation of broader capitalist relations in their region. This influence is not simply due to the unique character of each individual making up the framework of the capitalist system but the active and conscious organising and co–ordinating influence of individuals, most obvious at the local level but also present in the shaping of particular causal processes and structures within the limits imposed by tendential capitalist relations. Households and their members may be the building blocks of the framework of capitalist society but that framework is as much influenced by them as it is by the broad necessary tendencies and particular contingent processes operating in the capitalist system. The aim in this subsection is to examine factors other than capitalist structures which influence the development of individual housing strategies in combination with capitalist structures.

Figure 8.5 conceptualises some of the major social structures which inform the opportunity–constraint spectrum of low income young family households considering purchasing a home in Hobart. Household structure influences not only household needs but, in combination with income, the ability of households to save a deposit and pay for a home; for example, whether the household has one or two income earners

**Figure 8.5 The Agency Component of the Opportunity-Constraint Spectrum for Low Income Households Locating in Semiurban Areas**



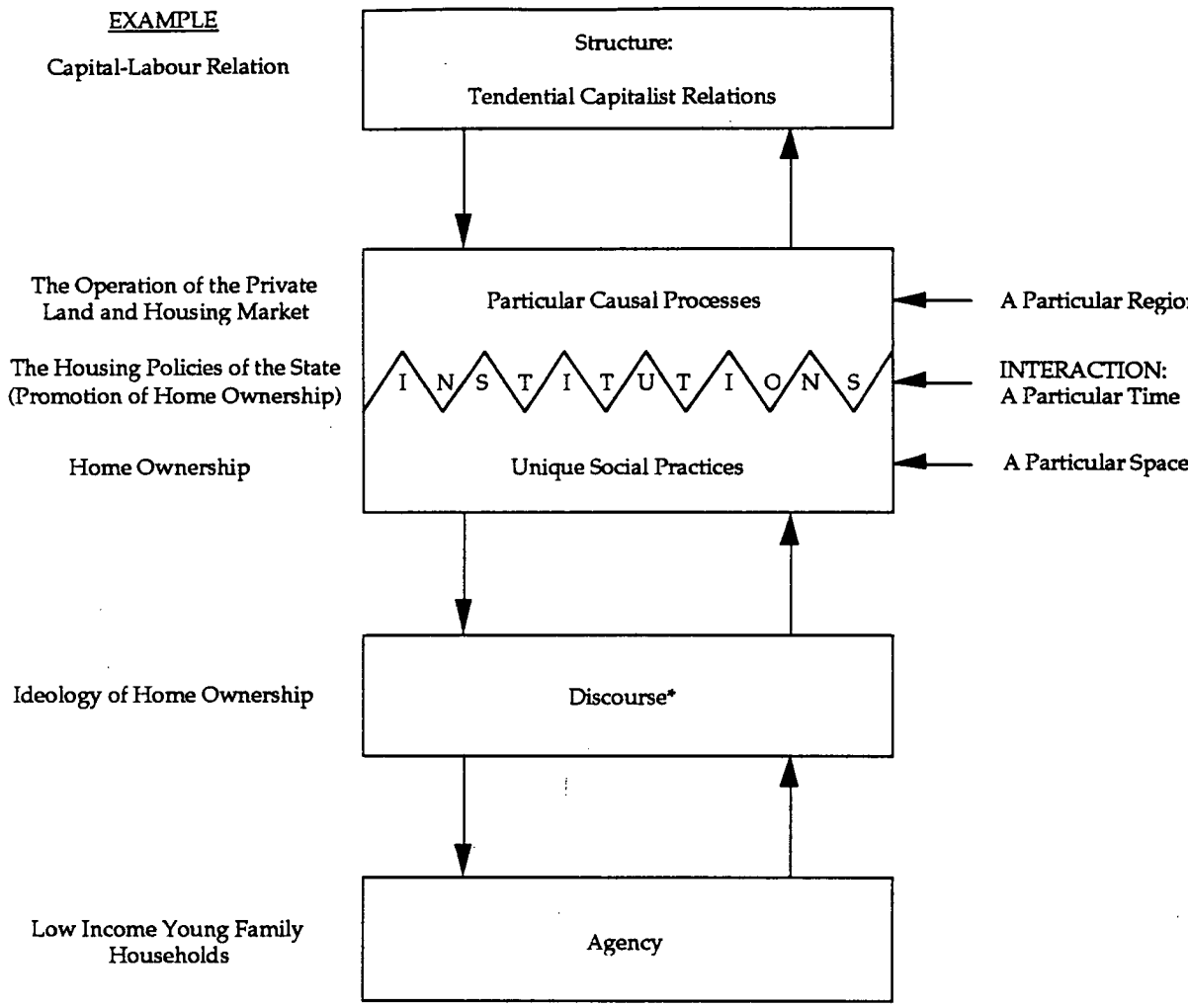

* Has a unique social logic which is informed by both structure (tendential capitalist relations) and agency (personality and socialisation, nature of knowledge and discourse) the interaction of which is between particular causal processes which constitute and are constituted by unique social practices

Socio (particular causal processes and unique social practices interaction) spatial (a particular built environment) Relations: a particular time and a particular space

and how many children a household has to support. Thus, any particular household has a particular household structure and level of income which influences its need for housing as well as its ability to satisfy this need. From this point, households enter into a decision field which is influenced by ideology and the nature of knowledge. As discussed in the previous subsection, "certain social practices may have 'ideological' . . . effects . . . which may, indeed, not have their origins in [the capitalist] order. And what effect these practices have on particular individual subjects is highly contingent and depends on the balance of other social practices" (Thrift 1983 p45). A dominant ideology such as home ownership closes off as well as opens up opportunities. The nature of the ideology of home ownership is contingent, mediated by the interaction of particular causal processes and unique social practices (Figure 8.6). Together, the interaction of the operation of the private land and housing market, the housing policies of the state and the social practice of home ownership structure the housing environment, not only the physical and financial structure of the housing environment but the information available to individual households whose choices and actions make up social practice. Thus, the cultural ideology of home ownership is influenced by a combination of causal processes, institutions and social practices which structure the availability of knowledge, placing limitations upon the ability of households to discern and develop appropriate housing strategies; this process is conceptualised by Thrift (1983 p45) "as a creative process of limitation and a limiting process of creation". Thus, the decision to begin to purchase a home is influenced by ideology filtered through the mediating influence of capitalist structures such as the private land and housing market and the complicit democratic state in capitalism.

Referring to Figure 8.5, once the decision to purchase a home is made, the family support network of an individual household may influence the development of that household's housing strategy. Depending on the background of the family support network, which influences the nature of its personal and financial assets in relation to the home purchasing household, family support networks' can influence the housing strategies of individual households in a number of ways. Most obviously, family support networks' can help finance home purchase. Finance for home purchase is also provided by private financial institutions as well as by the state (in the case of Tasmania, the TDA). Family support networks', however, can also influence the associations a household may have with particular areas. Due to the background of the family support network, household members have previously resided in areas

**Figure 8.6 Mediating Concepts Between Structure and Agency**




* Discourse is taken to mean the lived world of material practices and systems of meaning; in short, the cultural limits to the process of individual creation (Thrift 1983 pp37-45).

Source: Informed by Thrift (1983)

with which they are, consequently, familiar and may wish to (continue to) live in. Family or friends also live in particular places and alert households to the knowledge and possibility of living in such areas. Moreover, family and friends not only offer support, they may need care, requiring locating in the same area (as was the case for one household interviewed in the Eastern Beaches). Of particular relevance to the Eastern Beaches is the use of holiday homes within family support networks. For example, holiday homes can be used by households within the family support network as an interim waiting/saving stage before home purchase or as the home itself. Blocks of land, single or adjoining holiday homes or established homes can also

be given or sold on favourable terms to a household within the family support network. A final local association is employment. Predominantly male trade based employment is often available in semiurban areas due to the incidence of building occurring in these developing areas.

The local associations of family support networks predispose households to particular areas (which may or may not be located in) but development of a housing strategy is also influenced by the nature of social and personal values:

> An individual is a product of social interaction rather than of individual action. Therefore the study of personality involves, necessarily and integrally, the study of socialisation as a process of domination and resistance, the one dialectically linked to the other (Thrift 1983 p43).

First, social quality of life is important to many households in the Eastern Beaches. The contrast that the Eastern Beaches makes with 'suburbia' is valued by many households. The unsealed roads, the tank water, the open plan of the area, the country/holiday atmosphere, the native flora and so on are considered to contribute to a quality of life which differs from, and is preferred to, that in urban Hobart. The interaction of dynamic social perceptions and personal values is exemplified by those households in the Eastern Beaches which chose not to live in comparably priced fully serviced urban public housing areas.

The social perception of public housing was different post-World War II to what it is today. The extensive provision of public housing, which was not means tested, for rental-purchase at cost (employment being a necessary condition) was an acceptable and affordable gateway to home ownership for a variety of households. The post-World War II housing shortage, on the heels of a global Depression and a world war, meant that many households were happy just to get a roof over their heads. Moreover, public and private homes built immediately following World War II were often built by the same contractors, were of the same material, were of similar design and were often located in the same areas; the point being that post-war public housing was integrated into the community, its nature and occupants differing little from post-war private housing. Thus, public housing was socially acceptable. From 1975, however, the construction of isolated (not integrated) broad acre public housing

estates, which promoted a social mix privileging low income households by way of a means test and rent rebates (unemployment virtually being a necessary condition) changed the social perception of public housing and stigmatised broad acre public housing areas as being socially undesirable. Consequently, when faced with a choice between living in an area which accorded with both social and personally acceptable standards of living (the Eastern Beaches) and areas which did not (urban public housing areas such as Gagebrook) many households interviewed chose the former despite the costs associated with living in an isolated and poorly serviced semiurban area such as the Eastern Beaches. Many households did not see isolation and lack of services as costs but as an integral part of the character of the Eastern Beaches and, thus, of their lifestyle. In short, many households were willing to pay, in the form of isolation and lack of services, for the opportunity to purchase a home in a socially acceptable area. It is for this reason that Mr Graham's claim of a "$400m bill for 'fringe ghettos'" ("The Mercury" 5/12/90 p1) prompted such a defensive reaction from residents in the Eastern Beaches ("The Mercury" 6/12/90 p3 and 8, also the interview survey conducted for this study encountered almost unanimous rebuttal of Mr Graham's "ghetto" association). Exception was taken, not with the analysis, but with the evocation of "ghetto". For many households in the Eastern Beaches the contrast between the social perception of the Eastern Beaches and urban public housing areas was as important as its character and its natural environmental attractions. In other words, social perceptions and personal values combined to close off urban housing opportunities and open up semiurban ones.

Secondly, Tasmania is at the cutting edge of a shift in environmental values. The exploitation of the environment is giving way to an environmental sensitivity based upon an awareness of the importance of the condition of the natural environment to quality of life. This change has made socially acceptable the reassessment of value placed upon the natural environment by individual households. Increased awareness of the unhealthy aspects of urban living, from heavy metal and faecal coliform pollution of the Derwent Estuary to ambient urban air pollution by private motor vehicles, factories and woodheaters, has resulted in many households reordering their priorities in favour of a clean natural environment. The air and sea water of the Eastern Beaches are as yet relatively unpolluted by the sewage, industrial effluent and ambient air pollution evident in urban Hobart. The local natural environment of the Eastern Beaches may be altered and, in parts, degraded but it is not yet significantly

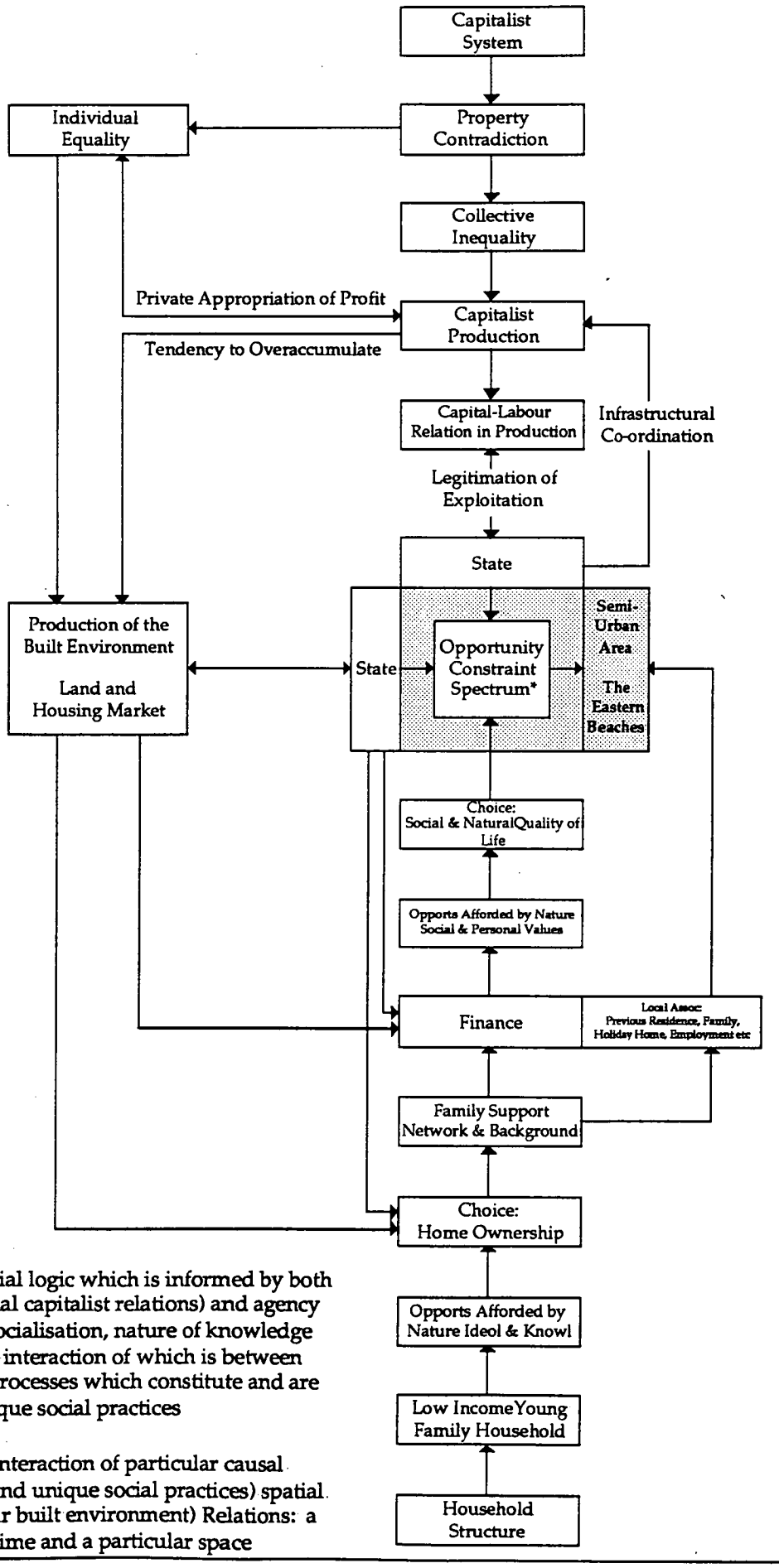
polluted. The lack of pollution as well as the Eastern Beaches' natural environmental attractions, such as the beaches and native flora, were almost unanimously valued by households interviewed for this study. Many households in the Eastern Beaches placed environmental quality of life, and its link with social quality of life, above costs imposed by isolation and lack of services; indeed, so strong was the value placed upon social and natural quality of life that these costs were often viewed as benefits. Once again, social perceptions and personal values interacted to, for some households, close off urban housing opportunities and make semiurban ones more attractive.

Finally, these influences inform the opportunity–constraint spectrum of each low income young family household choosing to purchase a home in Hobart. This opportunity–constraint spectrum has a unique social logic which is informed by both structure (tendential capitalist relations, for example see Subsection 8.1.4) and agency. Agency includes the influence of personality in dialectic relation with society, the structured and incomplete nature of knowledge, and discourse. Discourse is taken to mean the lived world of material practices and systems of meaning; in short, the cultural limits to the process of individual creation (Thrift 1983 pp37–45). Discourse is lived through unique social practices which make up the agency side of the mutually constituting interaction with particular causal processes (Figure 8.6). This often institutional interaction occurs within broader sociospatial relations at a particular time and in relation to a particular spatial configuration, the result being the purchase of homes by low income households in semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches (Figure 8.5). In the final subsection in this section on the human environment the specifics of linking a theory of the broad necessary structural tendencies of the capitalist system with an appreciation of its contingent interaction in time and space with the intentionality and motivation of agents is discussed.

### 8.1.7 Structure and Agency in Time and Space

In this concluding subsection the aim is to discuss how broad necessary tendential capitalist relations contingently interact with the intentions and motivations of individual agents at a particular time and in relation to a particular spatial configuration in the case of the Eastern Beaches. This discussion is conceptualised in Figure 8.7 which brings together the influence of structure and agency discussed

**Figure 8.7 The Sociospatial Opportunity-Constraint Spectrum for Low Income Households Locating in Semiurban Areas as Informed by Structure and Agency**




* Has a unique social logic which is informed by both structure (tendential capitalist relations) and agency (personality and socialisation, nature of knowledge and discourse) the interaction of which is between particular causal processes which constitute and are constituted by unique social practices

Socio (the interaction of particular causal processes and unique social practices) spatial (a particular built environment) Relations: a particular time and a particular space

separately earlier in this section.

Low income young family households live, first, in the capitalist system. They also live in a particular region whose contingent particularities influence the specifics of particular causal processes with which low income young family households relate. They live at a particular time with its own set of relations between capital, labour and the state. They live in relation to a particular spatial configuration which is influenced by particular social practices informed by a particular discourse. They have their own household structure and family support network and, finally, they wish to purchase and live in a home on a block of land which is provided in a particular way by a particular capitalist market (Figure 8.6).

Let us look at the above paragraph more closely in relation to the Eastern Beaches. The Eastern Beaches is a semiurban area of Hobart, the capital city of Tasmania which is a state of Australia and a part of the global capitalist system. Two broad capitalist relations are examined in this study, namely the capital–labour relation and property relations. The theory underlying these two relations was discussed in Chapter 2. Broadly, these two relations mean that low income young family households considering purchasing a home in Hobart are, first, usually without landed property and, secondly, engaged in a wage relation with capital. (Those households engaged in a social security relation with the state are usually not in a position to purchase a home.)

The specific reproduction of the relations of the social practice of home ownership is influenced by an array of contingent regional particularities which inform the nature of the operation of the land and housing market; for example, Tasmania's natural and population resources, the utilisation of these resources by particular capitals, the particular resource based industry and public employment structure in Tasmania, the housing policies of the Tasmanian Government and the position of the Tasmanian Government in relation to the policies of the Federal Government and developments in the global economy. These regional particularities were discussed in Chapter 4. Subsection 8.1.2 outlined the link between capital, labour and the state: first, in the state led promotion of home ownership following World War II in the interests of economic "boosterism" (Gottdiener 1988 p222); and, secondly, in the state's forced retreat from the extensive promotion of home ownership due to industry

restructuring. This retreat has resulted in the abandoning of many households, which continue to want home ownership but need instead acceptable and affordable alternative forms of housing, to the operation of a private land and housing market whose state led promotion of home ownership at the expense of supposedly uneconomic alternative forms of housing means that it can not provide low income households with either affordable home ownership or acceptable alternative housing options. The solution has been, not to develop acceptable alternatives to urban home ownership, but to reduce the cost of the land/house package down to the level of low income households by developing isolated and poorly serviced semiurban housing areas such as the Eastern Beaches.

Thus, low income young family households live at a particular time in relation: first, to the particular operation of the land and housing market; and, secondly, to the policies of the Tasmanian Government, which occupies a particular position regarding the Federal Government and the global economy. Industry restructuring and economic rationalism have forced a reduction in welfare expenditure, particularly expenditure on public housing and home purchase assistance. At the same time, the land and housing market has become somewhat of an anachronism, its operation continuing to reflect the "supply–side effects of a combined state–economy marriage which promoted fringe area development for the postwar housing needs of the . . . population" (Gottdiener 1988 p11). The private land and housing market persists with this form of development, despite it being increasingly unsuited to the needs of households, the policies of the state and the condition of the natural environment, because it is hidebound by a development structure which has been in place for nearly fifty years. Low income young family households considering purchasing a home in Hobart today have a given level of income with which to save towards a deposit which, together with income, qualifies them for either a public or private loan which makes possible home purchase in a given number of areas. Chapter 6 outlined the deterioration of already exiguous options facing low income households considering purchasing a home in Hobart, which was in keeping with the national picture of declining home ownership affordability discussed in Chapter 3. Public housing policy affects low income young family households in two ways: first, no longer subsidising home purchase; and, secondly, making home purchase in urban public housing areas undesirable due to its low income social mix. Public housing policy and the established nature of private market land and housing provision significantly

influence the housing options facing low income households. In short and in general, the income of low income young family households, their access to credit and their housing options are all broadly structured.

Low income young family households also live in the Greater Hobart area which has a particular spatial configuration which is the result of the interaction over time of the state, the land and housing market and individual households. The specific form of the land/house package provided by the land and housing market has a major influence upon the spatial configuration of the city which affects low income households in semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches in the form of isolation and an inability of the state to provide physical and social infrastructure. A social practice such as home ownership is a result of the interrelation of the broad imperatives of capital, labour and the state. Labour is broadly ideologically predisposed to home ownership but discourse is also informed by the imperatives of capital, in this case the land and housing market which has an established and preferred profit oriented form of housing provision, and the democratic state (for example, the post–World War II recipe for electoral success: industry, labour and public housing equals social, economic and political prosperity). The cultural ideology of home ownership is underpinned by a basic but nebulous requirement on the part of labour for it to be possible to access an acceptable standard of housing but the specifics of the discourse of home ownership are influenced by the broad capitalist imperatives and established structural operation of capital and the state. Home ownership is a fundamental social preference, the specific structure and discourse of which, however, are influenced by contemporary capitalist institutions. Consequently, the ideology of home ownership informs and is informed by the culture of home ownership which is embedded in the lived world of discourse and social practice; the influence of the ideology of home ownership pervades society and affects capital, labour and the state and, in turn, is shaped by all three. At the same time, for low income young family households which wish to purchase a home, capital and the state significantly structure their housing options by manipulating the way in which home ownership is promoted, provided and portrayed and by marginalising private rental and public housing.

Finally, each low income young family household has a unique structure, family support network and stock of socially influenced personal values. For example, many households interviewed for this study, which were outlined in Chapter 7, had chosen

to purchase a home in the Eastern Beaches (instead of in comparably priced, less isolated and fully serviced urban public housing areas such as Bridgewater) due to the perceived superior social and natural quality of life in the Eastern Beaches. Households purchasing homes in Bridgewater, however, may have different perceptions or priorities influencing the development of their particular housing strategies. At the local level, the way in which a household participates in community activities and relates with community issues varies depending upon the individual outlook of each household. A household makes as much of society as society makes of a household; for example, though much of the time the activities of households are reproductive of social structure, opportunities for transformative action do present themselves (Thrift 1983 p37). For instance, the case of the Midway Point Improvement Scheme given in Chapter 7 shows how the social structure of infrastructure provision and payment, indeed of perceptions of the need for certain types of infrastructure in semiurban areas, can be influenced by concerted community action.

In summary, capital and the state significantly influence labour's production relations as well as the specific structure of housing provision, both of which accord with the imperatives of capital and the state. Agents, however, provide the broad rationale for home ownership as well as uniquely constitute and modify housing outcomes which must, crucially, be provided in an acceptable form. The form of housing provided must be amenable to capital, labour and the state; the social structure of housing provision will be pressured to change if this is not the case. For example, labour will not live in housing which does not accord with its perception of an acceptable standard of housing, as the community suspicion of medium density housing attests (suspicion being based upon the poorly perceived experiment by public housing authorities during the 1960s in the provision of high rise flats). Scale economies could not be amenably met in the inner city so broad acre public housing estates, which were then acceptable to public housing tenants, were developed on the outskirts of Hobart. On the other hand, if the provision of a particular form of housing is not profitable within the established structure of the land and housing market then it will not be provided. In short, capitalist structure hidebounds and broadly determines (not predetermines) the limits of possibility for the development of diverse strategies by individual multifaceted agents. Today, the relatively inflexible private market provision of housing is increasingly contrary to the needs of low income households, the state and the natural environment: many households can not access the "great

Australian dream" of home ownership and are thus effectively denied public assistance, many households can not be provided infrastructure by the state and the low density nature of Hobart's outer urban and semiurban development adds isolation to existing structural disadvantages and unconscionably high emissions of $CO_2$ to the atmosphere. The conjunction of capital, labour and the state around home ownership is under threat of breaking down. The interaction of the structural provision of land and housing with the housing preferences of households at a time of industry restructuring and state financial restraint is resulting in the particular spatial outcome of home purchase by low income households in isolated and poorly serviced semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches. If this outcome is to be changed, and change is being publicly mooted, then both structure and agency will need to be addressed because, and this is just one possible example, broad perceptions, values and capitalist relations influence the specifics of the provision of land and housing which, in turn, influences the nature of broad perceptions, values and capitalist relations. Structure and agency are interactively responsible, at a particular point in time (which has a particular spatio–historic background), for the position of low income households within the particular spatial context of the Eastern Beaches. This may seem a simple enough message for our time, but it is one with profound implications for our social structures and our social spaces.

## 8.2 THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

In this section environmental issues in the Eastern Beaches are discussed. Discussion is couched at the level of establishing mechanisms for change, asserting the need in the Eastern Beaches for an environmental audit, an environmental management plan and a development plan within an overall guiding vision for the City of Hobart. To date, debate has yet to acknowledge the implications and current policy contradictions involved in a commitment to restructure the city along the principles of ecologically sustainable development and social justice and, at the same time, pursuing efficiency objectives in the interest of economic rationalism. As discussed in the previous section the specifics of change are yet to be addressed at this level for they involve a critical theoretical appraisal of current practice as well as the development of new, equitable and environmentally sensible practices which are contrary to current structures of operation and power.

There are several points to be made regarding the management of the natural environment in the Eastern Beaches. First, a comprehensive environmental audit needs to be carried out in the Eastern Beaches. This would result in a valuable "snapshot" of the condition of the local environment in the Eastern Beaches, provide a baseline for future environmental audits and initiate an on–going program of environmental monitoring, perhaps educationally involving interested local households and the Dodges Ferry Primary School.

Currently, the specifics of the human impact upon the natural environment in the Eastern Beaches are not known. Consequently, systematic measures can not be developed to address the full range of local environmental impacts in the long term. Neither can the effects of future development upon the Eastern Beaches be anticipated, obviated or budgeted for. For example, the Sorell Council is currently anticipating developing "soft" engineering options regarding the physical infrastructural servicing of the Eastern Beaches, for instance a biological secondary treatment lagoon system. Apart from it being unclear as to whether the development of such options is motivated by their environmental or financial appeal, "soft" engineering options are being developed without an adequate knowledge of either the natural environmental impacts they are intended to address (for instance, the buildup of septic tank effluent) or the effect upon the natural environment that they themselves will have (for instance, where and in what form will the treated effluent be pumped?). It is difficult to develop management options regarding natural processes if understanding of natural processes, the past and present impacts upon them by humans and the impact of proposed measures is incomplete.

It is important that some control be exercised over the environmental management and development direction of the Eastern Beaches. Currently, management options are being forced upon the Sorell Council because it is in a reactive position regarding human and environmental issues. The coping with problems "as they arise" means that the Sorell Council's options are few and the application of these options is piecemeal. Instead of maximising the flexibility of future management options by systematically planning for future eventualities, problems arise without warning to be dealt with extemporaneously and in isolation and, thus, potentially inappropriately. Systematic and informed forward planning is needed to meaningfully address the current human and environmental issues in the Eastern Beaches.

Secondly, conducting an environmental audit will require the co–ordination of the resources of a number of government authorities. The need for an environmental audit requires that the Sorell Council initiate awareness of the task at hand in the Eastern Beaches as well as cultivate a willingness to contribute to the researching and addressing of issues in the area. The Sorell Council can not be expected, and neither does it have the resources, to fund or undertake an environmental audit. The Sorell Council, however, does have a responsibility to bring to the attention of other government authorities issues in the Eastern Beaches relevant to those authorities as well as to plan and co–ordinate the ways in which various government authorities can contribute to the researching and addressing of issues in the Eastern Beaches.

Thirdly, once an environmental audit has been conducted in the Eastern Beaches, information regarding the implications of its findings needs to be disseminated. Not only government authorities but the community of the Eastern Beaches need to be informed as to the condition of the local natural environment as well as the options and implications regarding present and future development.

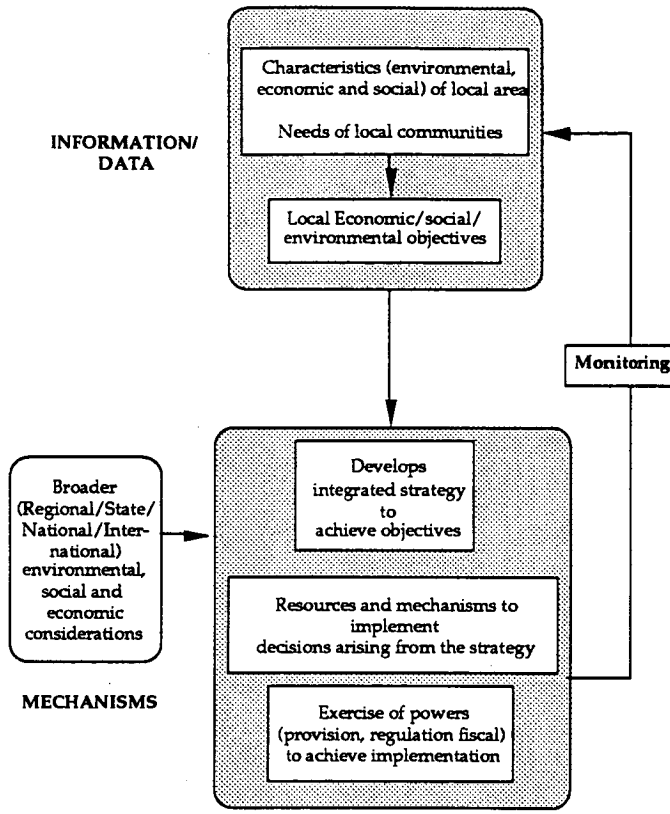
Fourthly, a detailed knowledge and understanding of the nature and impact of present development upon the local natural environment is needed. Assuming that basic statistics on population, housing, number of blocks and so on are accessible, the impact of the nature of past, present and future development upon the local natural environment of the Eastern Beaches needs to be assessed.

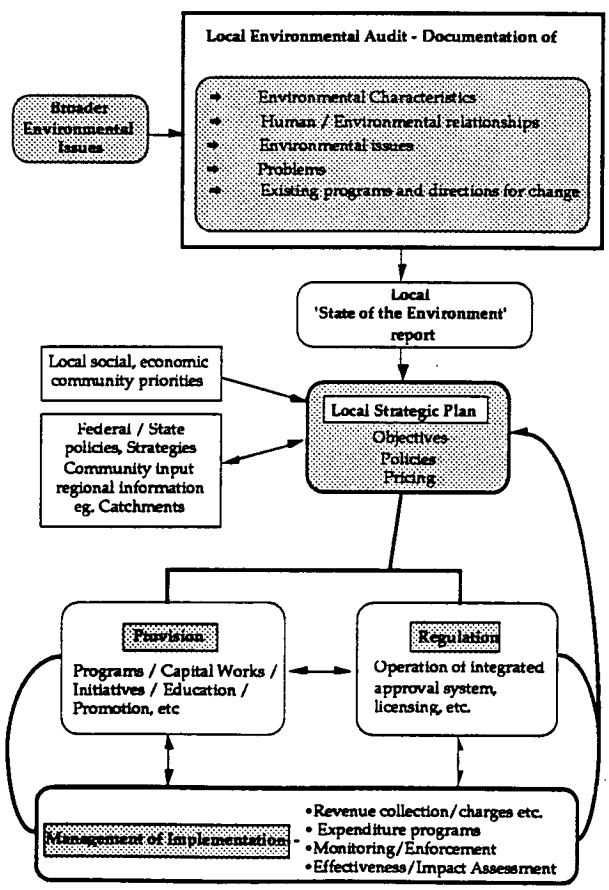
Fifthly, it is crucial that any environmental management plan, the foundation of which is an environmental audit, be devised in conjunction with a development plan for the Eastern Beaches. Knowledge of current environmental impacts and their management should inform the formulation of the development plan. The development plan, in turn, should inform the development of environmental management, broadly indicating future environmental impacts and defining possibilities and limitations to environmental management. There is little point having an environmental management plan without a development plan and vice versa; without a development plan environmental management is desultory and reactive and without environmental management development is environmentally senseless.

Sixth, an environmental management plan, in close association with a development plan, needs to bring together the needs and wants of the community of the Eastern Beaches with the resources of various government authorities through the agency of the Sorell Council. The community needs to be educated as to the condition of the environment, informed as to the options available regarding environmental management and future development and, finally, consulted as a part of the consensus building process in relation to environmental management and development in the area. This process would be assisted by the formation of a management forum, attended by representatives from the Sorell Council, involved government authorities and local community groups. The role of this forum would be to table and discuss the position of each party and work towards an acceptable direction for environmental management and development in the Eastern Beaches. It is vital, not only that all parties are consulted but that, as far as possible, each is aware and can discuss the standpoint of the other; consensus will be stronger if it is informed and consultative.

Seventh, environmental management in the Eastern Beaches needs to be undertaken as part of a considered and comprehensive plan for the Greater Hobart area. This theme is the centrepiece of a report prepared for the National Working Group appointed by the Local Government Minister's Council on the role of Local Government in environmental management (Tasque 1992). Figure 8.8 shows both the broad framework for a strategic approach to environmental management as well as the framework for a local strategic approach to environmental management proposed in the report. Currently, a considered and comprehensive plan for Hobart does not exist; no vision is guiding the development of Hobart and no authority exists to formulate such a vision. Local government areas are free to pursue their own priorities, divorced from the wider implications of their position within the Greater Hobart area. For example, many semiurban areas are part of the Hobart labour market. Travel to and from work each week day by one member of approximately 50 per cent of households living in semiurban areas around Hobart adds considerably to finite fossil fuel depletion and greenhouse gas emissions. Semiurban development is beginning to be realised to be financially untenable, socially questionable and environmentally insensitive. Guidelines for the development of the city are needed in order to give a direction to development. A consensual direction for development is needed for both the Eastern Beaches and the Greater Hobart area. Households interviewed criticised the rudderless nature of development in the Eastern Beaches

## Figure 8.8 Outline of Strategic Management Approach (Top) and Outline Framework for Development of Local Corporate/Strategic Approach to Environmental Management (Bottom)




Source:: Tasque (1992)

and expressed a desire to play a part in devising a development plan which would direct development in an environmentally and socially acceptable way. Similarly, development in the Greater Hobart area, particularly semiurban development, lacks an overview. A consensus based scheme for the city needs to be devised and development in the Greater Hobart area should be assessed as an overall part of that scheme by a body specifically concerned with the planning of the Greater Hobart area. Once again, consensus should be based upon the needs and wants of the community in relation with the capabilities of Local, State and Federal government authorities.

As mentioned in the introductory paragraph in this section, however, establishing these mechanisms for change will not, of itself, result in change. Perceptions, policy and practice, not simply location, will have to be changed, with implications for established public and private structures of operation, if the principles of ecologically sustainable development and social justice are to be taken seriously. Currently, however, the state possesses neither the political will nor the power to affect such change.

# 9.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

With the decline in the post–World War II industry based social contract, state subsidised home purchase down the income distribution was gradually forsaken. Today, the subsidised purchase of public housing and public rental housing are options which are no longer available to many low income households. Low income households' abiding preference for home ownership is today met within the profit oriented private land and housing market. The price of land, particularly, and housing within the private market have risen during the 1980s, as has the rate of interest. Real wages have fallen but the number of dual income households has increased due to an increase in the number of females in paid employment. The private housing market has capitalised the increased ability of dual income households to pay for land and housing into land and housing price rises. For many single income households, which are often low income households, it is not possible to compete with dual income households in the private urban land and housing market. The answer of the private land and housing market to the inability of low income households to purchase a home in urban areas is, not to lower the price of land and housing, to reduce profit margins or to develop alternative forms of housing or tenure, but to reduce the physical and social infrastructure servicing component of the price of the land/house package by developing semiurban housing areas. Due to the low density spatial configuration of Australian cities, semiurban areas are often isolated from employment and services and are conditional upon financially and environmentally expensive private motor vehicle usage.

This issue is conceptualised in debate and public policy as being one of locational disadvantage. The problem is conceived as being purely spatial, thus simply requiring a spatial solution. Consequently, urban consolidation is put forward as a means, with one policy, to address locational disadvantage, relieve pressure upon the funding of infrastructure provision (which is the main priority) and be pursuant of ecologically sustainable development. Space, however, in this case semiurban space, is socially produced and the addressing of locational disadvantage needs to consider the social basis of the production of semiurban areas. Debate of urban issues needs a critical theoretical conception of the social production of semiurban areas as a prelude to the development of meaningful policy options which tackle causal processes rather than simply their spatial expression.

Structure and agency both influence the social production of semiurban areas. First, structure influences individual households as well as the land and housing market within which individual households develop housing strategies. At a purely theoretical level of abstraction, the control of private property by individual entities means that labour is landless and, due to the ownership of commodified private property, must work for capital in order to purchase land and housing which is provided by a particular capitalist market. In practice, however, many home purchasers do possess, or can access via family support networks, land, money or other forms of wealth. First home buyers, however, are not yet likely to have accumulated much in the way of wealth (for many, even a deposit is difficult to save). The position of low income young family households attempting to purchase a home is likely to be particularly influenced by their lack of wealth (few are born into wealth in capitalist society and while many low income households are assisted by their family support networks, many are not). Thus, possibilities afforded many low income young family households are strongly influenced by what is often their only source of wealth, namely their wage relation with capital. Hence, the income of many low income households is broadly structured by capitalist property relations which underlie the operation of the capital–labour relation. For low income households, position in the labour market strongly influences position within a particular capitalist land and housing market (which is also underpinned by capitalist property relations). Both the monetary position of low income households, therefore, and the nature of the capitalist land and housing market with which low income households relate is broadly structured by tendential capitalist relations and imperatives.

Secondly, low income households, those who apply capital and the officers of the state, however, are also ideologically affected social agents. Ideology affects all agents; thus, capital is applied and public policy is developed by agents under the influence of ideology (for example, many of those applying capital and developing state policy are also home owners). The desire to exercise control over living conditions is not a product of the capitalist system. Home ownership strikes a deep social chord independent of capitalism. The present form of home ownership, however, is influenced by capital and the state. Labour has a broad need for an acceptable standard of living and a broad want to control this standard of living. Home ownership meets the physical and psychological requirements of labour, providing shelter, independence, privacy and discretion. The specifics of the land and housing

market within which housing is provided, however, are influenced by the imperatives of capital and the priorities of the state. Thus, the provision of housing must not, for one fraction of capital, endanger the supply of labour by rendering labour so independent as to be free of the need to work for capital, while, for another fraction of capital, the provision of housing must be profitable. At the same time, labour must be amenable to the form of housing provided if it is to continue its electoral support of the role of the democratic state in capitalism as well as its agreed participation in capitalist production relations. Thus, a form of home ownership has developed which requires long term payment, is relatively dependent upon capitalist infrastructure (for instance, the purchase of victuals and commodities such as electricity and petrol), is profitable and is promoted and subsidised into a position of predominance by the state.

Individual households develop unique housing strategies within the structure of the state influenced land and housing market; they are not simply structural automata. Apart from housing provision being influenced by broad social preferences and households developing their home and position within the local community in a unique way, the decision to locate in an area such as the Eastern Beaches is, even for low income households, made in relation to a number of choices. For example, many households interviewed chose not to purchase a home in comparably priced fully serviced public housing areas (an acceptable standard of living is influenced by social perceptions), choosing instead the perceived superior social quality of life in the Eastern Beaches despite its isolation and lack of services. Other households valued highly the natural quality of life in the Eastern Beaches, preferring the relatively unpolluted environment of the Eastern Beaches, as well as its non–urban character, to the perceived polluted and congested urban environment of Hobart.

Thus, it is structure and agency operating in time and space which influence the location of low income households in semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches. Capitalist structure broadly determines limits and establishes necessary tendential relations which interact with regional particularities to influence the nature of particular causal processes. Regional particularities and particular causal processes are determined by broad structural tendencies (as are social practices and agents) but they are not predetermined. Their particular expression in a particular place at a particular time is subject to an array of contingencies. One such contingency is the social practice of home ownership which interacts with particular causal processes,

such as the operation of the land and housing market, through the policies of the state. The ideology of home ownership is shaped by the socially perceived personal values of labour as well as the imperatives of capital and the priorities of the democratic state. In turn, ideology influences all social agents many of whom constitute the social practice of home ownership which interacts with particular causal processes to produce a particular space at a particular time (which has a particular spatio–historic background). For low income households today, that space is semiurban at a time of industrial restructuring, economic rationalism, land and housing price rises and stigmatised and financially attenuated public housing assistance. In short, the location of low income home purchasers in semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches is influenced by a particular spatial and temporal context within which a particular relation between broadly determining necessary structural tendencies and the in no way predetermined regional expressions of the social agents of capital, labour and the state takes place to produce this particular social outcome.

Regarding the natural environment, consequences of the low density development of Australian cities in the case of Hobart were outlined in Chapter 6, principally that semiurban development increases finite fossil fuel depletion and greenhouse gas emissions. One of the limitations in this study is that no detailed scientific research was conducted in relation to the local natural environment in the Eastern Beaches. Towards this end, a priority for further work regarding the Eastern Beaches is the conducting of an environmental audit. This should lead to the development of an environmental management plan for the Eastern Beaches, in conjunction with a development plan, which emphasises intergovernment co–operation and community consultation. An environmental audit would also establish a baseline for future environmental assessment as well as initiate an on–going monitoring program.

Rather than reacting to issues as they arise, it is vital that development and environmental management in the Eastern Beaches begin to be planned for. In addition to a management scheme in the Eastern Beaches, development and environmental management in the Eastern Beaches should be undertaken within the context of an overall human and natural environmental management scheme for the Greater Hobart area. An intergovernment community based body to devise and oversee a scheme for the city of Hobart needs to be developed which considers the development of semiurban areas in relation to broader social and environmental

issues, from the scale of Hobart's regional labour market to the global build–up of greenhouse gases.

An item on the ABC's 7.00 pm news bulletin (20/2/92), repeating an increasingly common theme in popular debate, reported a "squeeze upon middle Australia". The item stated that over the second half of the 1980s and the early 1990s, real wages had fallen, access to the law had become more expensive and the price of land and housing in real terms had risen. These trends had not unduly affected either those at the top of the income distribution, or those at the bottom who were better provided for by public housing programs, legal aid and an increase in real terms in Department of Social Security benefits. Feeling the pressure, however, were lower "middle" class Australians for whom, for example, it was not possible either to qualify for public housing assistance or to purchase an urban home on a block of land:

> A new enlarged underclass is forming in Australia as a result of recession and policy changes. These are people marginalised from the job market and increasingly from the Australian dream of owner–occupied housing . . . The combination of reduced employment, higher taxes and reductions in welfare may bring about a more internationally–competitive workforce, but it will adversely affect the living standards of the embattled working class (Winchester 1991 pp115–116).

Today, the issue of affordable access to such supposedly basic human rights as the right to shelter and equality of access to the law for lower "middle" class Australians, who are insufficiently poor to qualify for scant public assistance and insufficiently wealthy for it to be possible to afford such rights, has been identified and popularly portrayed. This issue, however, is far from being understood. A fifteen second news item simply presents this issue as a fact. In more considered contexts the implications of this fact are described, namely the location of low income home purchasing households in poorly serviced and isolated semiurban areas. The disadvantaged position of low income households in semiurban areas has come to be conceptualised, in urban periodicals and government policy documents, as being primarily locational; fix location and you fix disadvantage. It is this logic, together with an overriding government concern to reduce the cost of infrastructure provision and a strong housing industry influence upon debate and policy (with a vested interest in safeguarding the established profit oriented operational structure of the land and housing market), which underlies the appeal of the specious policy of urban

consolidation. Popular debate is a confused mixture of complicity, ignorance and pecuniary interest; government policy reflects this, embodying such contradictory principles and policies as social justice and economic rationalism respectively. The result is the obfuscation of underlying causal processes and the vitiation of meaningful policy options.

Any social outcome is a complex combination of structure and agency in time and space. Currently, popular debate and public policy is only considering space, and then only in a relativist way. Neither is a conception of the social production of existing spatial relations being developed; only their configuration is being considered. Semiurban areas are relational, they are shaped by, and in turn shape, social practices, causal processes and particular social entities which also have spatial expression. Thus, it is insufficient to consider only relative space if the position of low income households in semiurban areas such as the Eastern Beaches is to be understood. Time, for instance, is important. The current nature of state housing policy, which has a background of preferential home ownership assistance and contributes its own brand of economic rationalism to housing policy, influences both the land and housing market and low income households. Structure is also important. The capital–labour relation and property relations underlie the position of low income households regarding a particular capitalist market, the nature of which is also influenced by such relations. Finally, agency is a crucial component of any particular social outcome. First, those who apply capital, officers of the state and low income households are all ideologically affected agents whose socially perceived personal values shape and, in turn, are shaped by social outcomes. Secondly, low income households choose to locate in semiurban areas, developing housing strategies which accord with their socially perceived priorities and values, which in the case of the Eastern Beaches are social quality of life and natural quality of life. Thus, it is the interaction of structure and agency in time and space which needs to be considered if the social production of the Eastern Beaches is to be understood. Manipulating space will not address underlying tendencies or established structures, nor will it influence preferences or change policy. For some, this is just as it is intended, urban consolidation being an exercise in expediency based on the specious concept of locational disadvantage. A critical theoretical investigation of the interaction of structure and agency in time and space, however, is a good place to start for those who wish to pierce such superficial conceptions of urban issues.

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* Includes references in Bradshaw (1992) which are not cited in this study, but are nevertheless important sources.

# APPENDIX 1 INTERVIEW SURVEY

## Section 1 Background and Housing

1.1 *Where did you live before moving to . . . ?*

1.2 *Did you:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Own your home | [ ] |
| Rent your home | [ ] $____$wk |
| or were you purchasing your home? | [ ] |
| Other | |

1.3 *Was your previous home a public home?*

1.4 *When moving, what other areas did you consider?*

1.5 *Why did you move to . . . ?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Get away from the city | [ ] |
| Bring up kids | [ ] |
| Friends live here | [ ] |
| Family live here | [ ] |
| Environment | [ ] |
| Lifestyle | [ ] |
| Employment | [ ] |
| Affordable/available housing | [ ] |
| Real estate agent directive | [ ] |
| Other | |

1.6 *What year did you move here (history)?*

1.7 *Do you:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Own your home | [ ] |
| Rent your home | [ ] $____$wk |
| or are you purchasing your home? | [ ] |

1.8 *What was your purchase's previous use?*

| | |
|---|---|
| House | [ ] |
| Shack | [ ] |
| Block | [ ] |
| Other | |

1.9 *Did you receive housing/building assistance?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Bank Finance | [ ] |
| Mortgage type | _____ |
| TDA | [ ] |
| Second Mortgage | [ ] |
| Stamp duty deferment/loan | [ ] |
| Defence force home loan | [ ] |
| Other | |

1.10 *How much did you pay for your house and land?*

| | |
|---|---|
| < $20 000 | [ ] |
| $20 000 - 30 000 | [ ] |
| $30 000 - 40 000 | [ ] |
| $40 000 - 50 000 | [ ] |
| $50 000 - 60 000 | [ ] |
| $60 000 - 70 000 | [ ] |
| $70 000 - 80 000 | [ ] |
| $80 000 - 90 000 | [ ] |
| $90 000 - 100 000 | [ ] |
| > $100 000 | [ ] |

1.11 *What do you think it is worth today?*

1.12 *What major alterations (if any) have you made to the house?*

## Section 2 Individual Situation

2.1 *Who lives in the house with you?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Partner | [ ] |
| Children | [ ] No. ____ |
| Other | |

Estimated age of head(s) of household by decile
(ie between 20 and 30) [ ] and [ ]

2.2 *What is your current/partner's . . .*

| | Respondent | Partner |
|---|---|---|
| Empl/Unempl? | | |
| Occupation? | | |

If Unemployed . . .

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Currently Looking? | | |
| Constraints? | | |

## Section 3 Travel

3.1 *How many vehicles do you own?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Car | [ ] |
| Motorbike | [ ] |
| Other | [ ] |

3.2 *What are your travel arrangements regarding . . .*

| Location | Work | Shopping | School | Child Care/Doctor | $ Week |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Car | | | | | |
| Motorbike | | | | | |
| Car pool | | | | | |
| Bus | | | | | |
| Taxi | | | | | |
| Bike | | | | | |
| Walk | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | |
| No. Trips wk | | | | | |

3.3 *What is your attitude towards the amount of travelling that you do each week?*

3.4 *Is transport likely to be a problem in an emergency?*

## Section 4 Income

4.1 *What is your fortnightly take home household income?*

| | |
|---|---|
| < $300 | [ ] |
| $300 - 600 | [ ] |
| $600 - 900 | [ ] |
| $900 - 1200 | [ ] |
| $1200 - 1500 | [ ] |
| > $1500 | [ ] |

## Section 5 The Natural Environment

5.1 *How much do you like living here?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Strongly like | [ ] |
| Like | [ ] |
| Don't mind | [ ] |
| Dislike | [ ] |
| Strongly dislike | [ ] |

5.2 *What natural environmental aspects (if any) positively contribute to your lifestyle in . . . ?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Clean water | [ ] |
| Beach | [ ] |
| Clean air | [ ] |
| Native trees | [ ] |
| View of Mt Wellington | [ ] |
| Fishing | [ ] |
| Native animals | [ ] |
| Other | |

5.3 *Do you consider any of these are currently being degraded or are under threat?*

5.4 *How (if at all) does your lifestyle differ between winter and summer (which do you prefer)?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Beach | [ ] |
| Number/type of people | [ ] |
| Fresh water | [ ] |
| Traffic | [ ] |
| Dust | [ ] |
| Other | [ ] |

## Section 6 Attitudes - Structured Conversation: Points to Cover

6.1 *Would you consider yourself as living in an isolated area?*

6.2 *What do like about living in . . . ?*

| | |
|---|---|
| People | [ ] |
| Beaches | [ ] |
| Natural environment | [ ] |
| Isolation | [ ] |
| Quiet | [ ] |
| Lifestyle (relaxed holiday atmosphere) | [ ] |
| Nothing | [ ] |
| Other | |

6.3 *What detracts from your lifestyle in . . . ?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Isolation (family, friends, facilities) | [ ] |
| Transport time/cost | [ ] |
| Lack services (bus, shops, police) | [ ] |
| Lack employment opportunities | [ ] |
| Nothing | [ ] |
| Other | |

6.4 *What do you feel would improve . . . as a place for people to live?*

| | |
|---|---|
| More people | [ ] |
| Less people | [ ] |
| Better services | [ ] |
| Improved roads | [ ] |
| Sewerage and water | [ ] |
| Further development | [ ] |
| Less development | [ ] |
| Environmental protection | [ ] |
| Nothing | [ ] |
| Other | |

6.5 *Has the area changed?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Not at all | [ ] |
| For the better | [ ] |
| For the worse | [ ] |
| Specify | |

6.6 *Have any of the reasons for which you originally moved here changed since you've been here?*

6.7 *Do you intend to move elsewhere (why)?*

6.8 *Is there anywhere that you would prefer to live?*

6.9 *Why don't you live there now?*

6.10 *How would you assess the community spirit of . . . do you feel that you belong here?*

6.11 *How do you see the predominant character of . . . today?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Shack community | [ ] |
| Mix shack/homes | [ ] |
| Residential community | [ ] |
| Other | |

6.12 *What will be the major issues for (how do you see) . . . in ten years time?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Future development | [ ] |
| Environmental protection | [ ] |
| Use conflicts (day trip, shack, residence) | [ ] |
| Services | [ ] |
| Nothing | [ ] |
| Other | |

6.13 *How would you like to see . . . in ten years time?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Same as now | [ ] |
| More People | [ ] |
| Less people | [ ] |
| Better services | [ ] |
| Further development | [ ] |
| Less development | [ ] |
| Don't mind | [ ] |
| Other | |

6.14 *Would you agree with the further suburbanisation/development of . . . ?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Strongly agree | [ ] |
| Agree | [ ] |
| Don't mind | [ ] |
| Disagree | [ ] |
| Strongly disagree | [ ] |

Anything else you'd like to mention?

Thank you for your time, co-operation, and comments.

Endnotes:

# APPENDIX 2 INTERVIEW SURVEY SUMMARY

| Int. No. | Previous Land Use | Labour Force Status | | Employment Location | | Travel - Vehicles and Cost | | F/N TH HH | Household Structure | | Estimated Age | | No. 1 Reason |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Respondent | Partner | Respondent | Partner | No. Vehicles | $ Petrol Wk | Income $ | Relationship | Dependants | Household Head(s) | Dependants | Locate |
| L1 | House | Empl | Unempl | Sorell | - | 1 | 50 | <300 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 2 | Block | Retired | Retired | - | - | 1 | 5 | <300 | Couple | - | 70-80 | - | Lifestyle |
| 3 | House | Retired | Retired | - | - | 2 | 40 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Lifestyle/Envir |
| 4 | Block | Casual | Empl | Sorell | Statewide | 2 | 60 | 900-1200 | Couple | 3 | 30-40 | 10-20 | Family |
| 5 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 3 | 65 | 900-1200 | Couple | 1 | 30-40 | U10 | Family/Envir |
| 6 | Block | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 20 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | Baby | AH |
| 7 | HH | Retired | Retired | - | - | 1 | 5 | <300 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Peace & Quiet |
| 8 | Block | HD | Empl | - | Statewide | 2 | 70 | 600-900 | Couple | 1 | 40-50 | 20-30 | Lifestyle |
| 9 | HH | HD | Empl | - | Local | 2 | 40 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 30-40 | - | Envir |
| 10 | HH | Retired | Retired | - | - | 2 | 10 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 60-70 | 20-30 | Envir |
| DF1 | HH | Casual | - | Hobart | - | 1 | 20 | <300 | Single F | 3 | 30-40 | 10-20 | AH |
| 2 | HH | HD | Unempl | - | - | 2 | 25 | <300 | Couple | 2 | 20-30 | U10 | Family |
| 3 | HH | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 1 | 20 | <300 | Couple | 2 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 4 | HH | Empl | Empl | Local | Statewide | 2 | 55 | 600-900 | Siblings | - | 50-60 | - | AH |
| 5 | House | Unempl | Unempl | - | - | 4 | 20 | <300 | Couple | - | 20-30 | - | Envir |
| 6 | House | Empl | HD | Sorell | - | 2 | 30 | <300 | Couple | 3 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 7 | HH | Retired | Retired | - | - | 2 | 35 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Lifestyle/Envir |
| 8 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 90 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 30-40 | - | Lifestyle/Envir |
| 9 | House | Retired | Retired | - | - | 2 | 25 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Envir |
| 10 | HH | Retired | Retired | - | - | 1 | 5 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Lifestyle/Envir |
| PB1 | HH | Unempl | Unempl | - | - | 1 | 20 | <300 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 2 | HH | Empl | Empl | Local | Hobart | 2 | 40 | 600-900 | Couple | 2 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 3 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 70 | 300-600 | Couple | 3 | 30-40 | U10 | AH |
| 4 | House | Retired | Retired | - | - | - | - | <300 | Couple | - | 70-80 | - | Lifestyle |
| 5 | Block | Retired | - | - | - | - | - | <300 | Single F | - | 70-80 | - | Scenery |
| 6 | Block | Empl | Empl | Sorell | Hobart | 2 | 90 | 300-600 | Couple | 2 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 7 | HH | Retired | Retired | - | - | 1 | 5 | <300 | Couple | - | 60-70 | - | Family |
| 8 | HH | Empl | Empl | Cambridge | Hobart | 2 | 70 | 600-900 | Couple | - | 30-40 | - | Lifestyle/Envir |
| 9 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 70 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 30-40 | 10-20 | AH |
| 10 | House | Empl | Empl | Hobart | Hobart | 2 | 70 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 20-30 | - | AH |
| C1 | House | Empl | Empl | Hobart | Hobart | 2 | 80 | 600-900 | Couple | 2 | 40-50 | 10-20 | Lifestyle/Envir |
| 2 | House | Unempl | - | - | - | - | - | <300 | Single F | 3 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 3 | Block | Casual | Empl | Richmond | Hobart | 2 | 90 | 900-1200 | Couple | 3 | 30-40 | U10 | Envir |
| 4 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 85 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 30-40 | 10-20 | Grew up locally |
| 5 | HH | Empl | Empl | Brighton | Hobart | 2 | 60 | 600-900 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | Baby | AH |
| 6 | Block | Casual | - | Hobart | - | 1 | 30 | <300 | Single F | - | 30-40 | - | AH |
| 7 | HH | Retired | - | - | - | - | - | <300 | Single F | - | 50-60 | - | Family |
| 8 | HH | Pension | Empl | - | Hobart | 1 | 40 | 300-600 | Couple | - | 20-30 | - | Family/Lifestyle |
| 9 | House | Casual | - | Sorell | - | 1 | 20 | <300 | Single F | 1 | 30-40 | U10 | AH |
| 10 | HH | Empl | Empl | Hobart | Hobart | 2 | 60 | 600-900 | Couple | - | 50-60 | - | Envir |
| PS1 | Block | Unempl | HD | - | - | 2 | 40 | <300 | Couple | 2 | 30-40 | 10-20 | Bring up Kids |
| 2 | House | Unempl | HD | - | - | 1 | 30 | <300 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | U10 | AH |
| 3 | House | Empl | - | Interstate | - | 2 | 30 | 600-900 | Single M | - | 50-60 | - | AH |
| 4 | Block | Empl | HD | Locally | - | 2 | 40 | <300 | Couple | - | 50-60 | - | Peace & Quiet |
| 5 | HH | Unempl | Unempl | - | - | 1 | 25 | <300 | Couple | 2 | 30-40 | 10-20 | Cont in Schooling |
| 6 | House | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 30 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | Baby | Peace & Quiet |
| 7 | HH | HD | Empl | - | Hobart | 2 | 50 | 300-600 | Couple | 1 | 20-30 | Baby | AH |
| 8 | Block | Retired | - | - | - | 1 | 5 | <300 | Single F | - | 60-70 | - | Family |
| 9 | House | Pension | Retired | - | - | 1 | 15 | <300 | Single F | 1 | 30-40 | 70-80 | AH |
| 10 | HH | HD | Unempl | - | - | 1 | 40 | <300 | Couple | 2 | 20-30 | U10 | Isolation |

L - Lewisham
DF - Dodges Ferry
PB - Park Beach
C - Carlton
PS - Primrose Sands

F/N TH HH - Fortnightly Takehome Household
HH - Holiday Home
HD - Home Duties
AH - Affordable Housing